

**AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL HALLWAY:
SOCIAL FORMATIONS AND MEANINGS OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM**

by

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ABSTRACT

An elementary school hallway is examined using qualitative and quantitative research methods to determine what kinds of groups develop in that context and the meanings of those groups and related behavior to children. Three social formations are identified and described within the theoretical framework of school and peer cultures. The school line is a social formation involving high teacher control, reflecting school culture, functioning to move children from one place to another, in contrast with the queue that determines priority of service by position in line. The phalanx involves children walking side by side through the hallway. The cluster is a gathering of children roughly in a circular or semicircular pattern. Both the phalanx and cluster promote social interaction as part of peer culture. Quasi-group formations are also identified, including hallway crowds, cruising behavior, and ritualistic behavior. Hallway behavior is an important aspect of the school environment with implications for both the educational process and the social relationships of children.

INDEX WORDS: Hallways, School Hallways, Children's Social Interaction,

Children's Friendships, Lines, Queues, Rows, Phalanxes,

Clusters, Rituals, Teasing, Rough-and-Tumble Play, Crowds,

Proxemics, School Culture, Peer Culture, Hidden Curriculum

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CHAPTER I

RATIONALE, THEORIES, AND THREE QUESTIONS

The day is filled with numerous transitions for the elementary school child. The first school-related transition is leaving the car, bus, or sidewalk to enter the school building, while the last is re-entering the vehicle or walking to leave the school grounds. Throughout the day there are transitions when children move from the classroom to the playground, cafeteria, restroom, and other areas of the school. These transitions often mark the boundaries of school events through the day, but the transitions themselves are also important events that deserve careful examination.

In most schools, transitions involve movement through hallways. At the most overt level, a hallway constitutes a conduit for human movement from location to location, but this part of the school may have other functions as well. Children may engage in various social behaviors as they walk through the hallway, and in some cases this area of the school building becomes a distinctive social context where children congregate and participate in a wide variety of activities unrelated to the physical act of moving to and from the classroom.

Why Study Hallways?

Hallways and the activities associated with them are often taken for granted. Perhaps, it has been suggested, what occurs in the hallway is meaningless or even a waste of time (Barr & Dreeban, 1983, pp. 10, 54). Yet the social sciences often call into question the obvious, taken-for-granted aspects of life; the obvious may mask latent social functions of which people are minimally aware.

School hallways deserve study because, even though adults may try to divorce what happens there from the classroom, children do not. The basic purposes of the school, academic and social learning, may be encouraged or undermined by hallway events. For example, activities in elementary school halls may have a positive emotional influence on children because of a pleasant conversation held there, or conversely a hostile verbal exchange may have a negative emotional effect. Sometimes the hallway seems to have no effect at all. Teachers may think a child is merely going to the restroom while actually destructive or seemingly purposeless events occur. Children may use skills or rehearse lessons learned in the classroom. Excursions to nonrelevant sections of the building may delay urgent notes to teacher or principal, but perhaps that wasted time reveals the child's latent attitudes about the school and learning. Could the "wasted time" provide an opportunity for emotional expression for the child? Do children acquire or refine skills in social interaction through their hallway experiences?

Many of these themes are reflected in Herrera's (1988) Harvard University doctoral dissertation. His ethnographic study reveals latent educational functions of hallway transitions in a middle school context. Classroom events and the activities in the hall are clearly related (p. 5). For example, students transfer attitudes and ideas learned in class into hallways and other areas of the school. Conversely activities that take place in the corridors and other public areas of the school influence what occurs in the classroom (p. 23). Herrera concludes from his research that the "social activity outside the classroom forms the substance of the learning environment that exists" (p. 201). Interactions between students and adults in school hallways are a "critical factor determining how students learn" (p. 203) because social activities and cognitive functioning are powerfully related, and spontaneous social expression of these is more likely outside the classroom (p. 204). Although Herrera's research was conducted in a middle school, might the same be said of elementary schools? Research is needed, particularly in respect to the learning of important social skills.

Other researchers have implied that hallway events may reveal important aspects of the school context. Erickson (1986) recommends that researchers take a "wide-angle view" of the educational context to most fully comprehend what happens in the school. He says, "The analytic task is to follow lines of influence out the classroom door into the surrounding environments" (p. 143). Similarly, Reimer (1993) comments, "Many classroom peer interactions which were initially confusing to me and to the teacher were clarified after I understood the ways and whys of children's playground activities" (p. 316). The same might be said for hallways.

Why Study *Elementary School Hallways*?

During the elementary years children learn the expected behaviors associated with many social roles, including those related to the school hallway (Cox, 1980, pp. 37-39). Although Cox examined the initial acquisition of hallway norms during the earliest weeks of kindergarten, age-related changes in the activities can be expected. The earliest years of education may contribute to life-long attitudes toward schooling; hallway events certainly are part of this experience.

At the conclusion of this field study, one teacher who was interviewed commented that what happens in hallways affects children even more than what happens in the classroom. Although this may be an exaggeration, the hallway can have a significant impact on the child's experience in the classroom. As Metz (1978) comments,

So there are intimate interdependencies between the strategies chosen to maintain hall order and the ends and means which can be sought in the classrooms adjoining. The reverse is also the case, ideas and attitudes absorbed in the classroom leave with the students and affect their behavior elsewhere in the school (p. 237).

Norris Brock Johnson (1985, p. 247) also asserts the importance of school hallways, specifically directing his comments to the activities of middle and upper elementary grades. He says,

Hallways, though, moderate the emphasis on quietness, order, and the denial of spontaneity associated with classrooms. They provide an important opposition to the customary norms and values of the classroom and are safety valves balancing out the tensions and emotions generated in the classroom sociocultural system . . . Information is exchanged, social bonds reinforced, and future plans made during scheduled student passes through the hallways . . . Hallways elicit spontaneity, and these important *between* times and spaces even out the often overpowering drives reinforced in the regular classroom world.

Thus the study of hallways contributes to understanding the school as an organismic whole, an interdependent network of physical and social contexts making up the school as a system.

Is This Study Only Preliminary?

Several of the comments above might suggest that examining hallways is only preliminary to what is most important, the *linkages* between the hallway and other aspects of schooling. Indeed, I began this study with this assumption. Before the relationships between the hallway and other contexts, such as the classroom, can be adequately ascertained, constructs and hypotheses relevant to the hallway must be developed. Thus I selected a relatively open-ended, qualitative approach for this study; seeking a holistic understanding of the hallway context. Once some of the key variables of the hallway are determined, and tentative hypotheses about those variables are suggested, the next step of relating those hypotheses and variables to the classroom becomes possible.

Although I hope this study is preliminary to the task of determining linkages between the hallway and other school contexts, especially the classroom, the hallway is a valuable context for study in its own right. The hallway, as a subsystem within the school system, may have a social ecology of its own that should be examined. Children talk about lessons and teachers in the hallway. Children practice and refine their social skills in the hallway. Children laugh, dance, and sing in the hallway.

This work is not merely preparatory, but it *is* exploratory. The few studies that have been made of school hallways either concentrate on the halls of middle schools, or they include comments about elementary school hallways that are peripheral to the main topic of study. I have located no research of elementary school hallways concentrating on the general social ecology of the hall. The results of my study of one school's hallways must be tentative and suggestive; this is only a first attempt at discovering the nature of the hallway social context.

Theoretical Frameworks

Social contexts may be studied from many possible theoretical vantage points, because there are so many things that may happen in the hall. The predominant reference in this study is the

anthropological concept of culture. Indeed, the ethnographic methodology used in this study is derived from anthropological studies of culture (Lancy, 1993, p. 4). Because culture is multifaceted and complex, two additional theories help orient my perspective of cultural study: Blumer's symbolic interactionism and Hall's proxemic theory. The latter theory was predominant during the early observations of this research, while the former theory came to predominate during later phases. Although culture, as understood through these two supportive theories, is the predominant reference, corollary theories support and broaden the framework. The reason for multiple theoretical perspectives was to create the potential for development of diverse constructs, with the goal of tapping indigenous understandings of this social context, constructs emergent from the cultural scene.

School and Peer Cultures

Although culture is commonly thought to represent an entire society, it may also refer to a *subpart* of a society that shares common expectations and understandings. For example, children and adults are believed to have separate cultures because of their divergent understandings and expectations (Goodenough, 1976; Goodman, 1970). Willard Waller (1961, pp. 104) suggests that teachers attempt to impose the culture of adult society on children, while children maintain an indigenous culture of their own.

School and peer culture theory provides an important basis for studying the hallway. School culture refers to teacher-oriented aspects of schooling, emphasizing formality and routine, submission to the control and authority of adults, and learning the values of adult society. In contrast peer culture, often termed child culture in the literature, emphasizes play, multiple options, the norms and values of the peer group, child folklore, and flexibility (Baker, 1985; Bauman, 1982; Fine, 1981; Sutton-Smith, 1990; 1982, p. 201). Key values in the peer culture of elementary-aged children tend to be same sex associations (Davies, 1982; Thorne, 1993) and hierarchies based on age and grade (Passuth, 1987). The difficulties of adults crossing over to the peer culture of children is underscored by Corsaro (1985), and Baker (1985, pp. 68-85) lists a number of initiatory rites required by children in her attempt to enter their peer culture. She concludes that adult entry into peer culture is at best incomplete (p. 85).

School culture is developed by adults with the goal of socializing children into the requirements of adult society. Thus the natural tendency for teachers and other adults is to view peer culture not as an alternative legitimate perspective, but as inadequate socialization (Davies, 1982, pp. 115-116, 31). In contrast with school culture, peer culture is a construction of children (Kalekin-Fishman, 1987). The development of peer culture is inadvertently encouraged by parents and other adults by their excluding children from adult activities and encouraging youngsters to play with peers (Davies, 1982, p. 30). Peers enculturate children into peer culture (Fine, 1981), and one key location for this socialization into the tribe is the school playground (Sutton-Smith, 1990). The distinctive Western child-peer culture is thought to have first developed in the nineteenth century (Boocock, 1980, p. 142).

Spradley and McCurdy (1972) note that the perspectives of children and adults in school are often in opposition, such as girls thinking of a trip to the restroom as a time for play, while the teacher perceives the restroom as a location to care for personal, physical needs. Yet children are able to switch quickly between adult and peer cultures, providing responses that fit the adult perspective rather than their own reasons for their actions, which reflect peer culture (Reimer, 1993).

Although most writers similarly emphasize the opposition of peer and school cultures, Davies (1982, p. 114) maintains that the two cultures need not be opposed, but that peer and adult culture can be parallel and even complement one another in the classroom. Peer culture can even be a means of attainment of school culture competence, which Davies defines as becoming socially adept in the school setting (p. 63). Other researchers have also noted that the presence of peer culture, even in the classroom, is not always a detriment (Kalekin-Fishman, 1987; Carere, 1987).

School and peer cultures are not the only cultures within which children participate: Baker (1985, p. 18) suggests that the home is yet a third culture for children. McLaren (1993, pp. 85-94), preferring the designation "interaction state" to culture, maintains that the children at the Catholic school he studied moved between the "streetcorner state" (analogous to peer or child culture), the "student state" (school culture), the "home state," and finally the "sanctity state." Each of these

cultures (or for McLaren, interaction states) has distinct normative expectations, with adult rules being predominant in school culture, and children making most of the rules in the peer culture or adapting adult rules to their culture. The typical classroom generally exemplifies school culture, with teacher expectations predominant. In contrast, the playground typifies peer culture, with adult direction relatively absent except when major altercations occur. The cafeteria, restrooms, and other areas of the school may represent more peer or school culture depending on the nature of those contexts and the degree of control exercised by adults.

Peer culture and school culture often interface in the school hallway, although that interface probably varies by who is in the hallway, the purpose of being there, size of group, and so on. Each of these components reflects peer-directed culture, school-directed culture, or perhaps some combination of the two. Thus a central question for this study is, "How are peer and school cultures represented in the hallway?" School culture is reflected overtly by the presence of teachers and other adults who enforce formal or informal rules and structures. Peer culture, in contrast, is represented more or less overtly through game playing, peer-dominated talk, scuffling, and the like.

The distinction between peer and school culture is a very important concern of the study, but not the only issue of interest. In a sense peer and school culture theory is a pervasive substantive theory, superordinate to the other two major theoretical perspectives for this study, symbolic interactionism and proxemic theory.

Symbolic Interactionism and the Hidden Curriculum

In this study, the quest for *emic* meanings of events to participants reflects a commitment to symbolic interaction theory. *Emic*, as used throughout this study, refers to the insider perspective or the subjective meaning, in contrast with the *etic* perspective, a view from outside by nonparticipants such as a researcher (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 45). Blumer (1969b, pp. 2-6) summarizes the *emic* perspective in three premises. First, the activities of humans are based on the meanings given to objects, events, and other things encountered. Second, these meanings emerge from the interactions people have with others; they are individual creations. Third, the interpretations made incorporate and modify the meanings that are infused; interpretation is an ongoing, formative process, not a static application of extant meanings.

Blumer built on George Herbert Mead's idea that the self is not innately present at birth, but develops through contact with others (Mead, 1934, p. 135). Through the role taking implicit in interactions, children maintain a self-identity while also imagining themselves in the role of another person. The individual experiences the self as a separate object by mentally taking the viewpoint of another person in a social group or taking the perspectives of several group members simultaneously, which becomes possible in late childhood. By mentally taking on the perspectives of others, the individual can experience the self as a distinctive object (p. 138). Thus the self is a creation that emerges from interaction with others.

Symbolic interactionism emphasizes that meaning is not inherent in behavior and symbols, but rather that individuals *confer* meanings. Even though these meanings are distinctive from one person to the next, shared meanings are possible through the imagining of the self in an alternate social role and taking on other individuals' interpretations, expectations, and points of view (Goetz & Hansen, 1974, p. 5). Shared meanings between the researcher and persons studied are essential to achieve an *emic* perspective of those studied. In addition, the meanings shared among participants are also important, whether they be micro-level, such as the shared understanding between one child and one teacher of a request to use the restroom, or macro-level, such as the shared assumptions about school culture and related norms and rules of the hallway.

One concept linked with symbolic interaction, the hidden curriculum (Jackson, 1990), suggests that children may learn ideas and behaviors that are not overtly stated in the curriculum of the school. What happens in the hallway may constitute a hidden curriculum that deserves explication, not only to understand what is learned in the hallway context, but also to observe how that learning influences education and behavior in other contexts of the school.

Hall's Theory of Proxemics and Events

Children may enter the hallway individually such as when a child gets a drink of water, in formal groups as when an entire class moves to the playground, or in small groups such as several children going to a specialized instruction class. In the hallway informal groups may form and

disperse, formal whole-class groups can be maintained in a line, or children may scatter. All of these alternatives involve the use of physical space.

Culture can also be understood as use of physical space and the events that transpire within that space. Spradley and McCurdy (1972, p. 28) note that social situations are comprised of locations and events that have one or more "cultural scenes." These cultural scenes involve the knowledge and definitions that participants use to understand events that take place in a given location. Edward T. Hall's (1974) classic theory of social distance within a given space, and the events that take place within that space, provides a useful method of understanding school and peer cultures in the hallway. Because Hall's theory implies an outsider's perspective of social space and events, it is considered *etic* to the social context, reflecting the researcher's or theorist's perspective more than participants' *emic* views, though not necessarily in conflict with participants' perspectives.

Hall proposes that the physical space surrounding a person or animal functions as a social marker to establish territory and identify the individual with a group (pp. 4-5). The space around a person can be divided into roughly symmetrical zones, which may indicate the level of relationship between individuals (the space closest to the person being intimate space, the outermost zone being formal space, etc.). Thus the spacing between friends talking to one another tends to be smaller than the spacing between persons only casually acquainted. Distance helps define relationship. Similarly, Martin and Bateson (1993, p. 73) note that physical distance is a determining factor in defining a group. They specifically distinguish *groups*, in which known associations take place, from *parties*, which are aggregates in which membership is uncertain.

Hall's proxemic theory shares common ground with the ecological psychology of Roger Barker (1968), who in turn owes much to the early theorizing of Kurt Lewin (1936). Lewin describes both the physical and psychological environment of persons as "topological psychology." To accomplish any goal, the individual must move through various adjacent regions of physical and psychological spaces, regions surrounded by more or less permeable boundaries. For example, to attend a movie one must locate money (region one), find a method of transportation (region two), navigate the correct route to the theater (region three), and so on. Lewin emphasizes the need to describe how an individual learns the "life space" that the regions comprise (Farnham-Diggory, 1992, pp. 24-27).

Lewin's early theory somewhat resembles the two central components Hall (1974, pp. 8, 15) proposes for understanding events: action chains and situation frames. An *action chain* is a series of actions constituting the smallest unit within a culture, such as obtaining directions or making a purchase. An example described by Hall is the social greeting, which involves perception of someone, recognition, a recognition signal, approach, a greeting ritual, termination, and withdrawal (p. 23). This common action chain is one of several possible action chains that may occur in hallways.

Hall's theory, like that of Barker, is unidirectional in the emphasis on the environment influencing the individual, while the influence of the person on the context tends to be overlooked. In contrast symbolic interaction theory is more like Mehan's (1979, 1982) transactional approach in which the environment impacts the individual, but also the individual has a reciprocal influence in defining and selecting the environment.

Corsaro (1981), in his research on preschoolers, discovered a somewhat similar process that he terms an interactive episode adapted from Erving Goffman's (1967) idea of face engagement. Even though Corsaro notes the initiation and termination phases of an interactive episode, he places special emphasis on the actions of youngsters that sustain the interaction, such as the exclusion of other children. Elementary-aged children probably do not follow the same patterns of interaction used by preschoolers; for example, they probably do not sustain interaction by exclusion as much. Yet Corsaro's ideas on initiation, termination, and the events between these markers can be understood within Hall's more general construct of action frames.

Both Corsaro and Hall note that sequences of activities by groups *in a given space* form a unit, what Hall terms a *situational frame*. Hall (1974, p. 22) considers the latter construct to be similar to the "standing frames" suggested by Roger Barker's ecological psychology. The concept of situational frame can be compared to Pellegrini's (in preparation, p. 255) "critical incident" in a narrative system, which is comprised of relevant behavior, participants, situational structure, and consequences. The situation frame, which includes the time, specific location, characteristics of participants, verbal and nonverbal language, results or goals of activities, and meanings of what

occurred (Hall, 1974, pp. 22-23), includes many cultural elements and is similar to Spradley and McCurdy's (1972) idea of the social situation.

How Theories Informed the Present Research

Hall's perspectives and those of the other theorists mentioned form the initial, more etic theory of reference in this study, primarily informing the early phases of data collection. During the initial weeks of fieldwork, I observed three recurrent situation frames within the hallway: the *line*; the *phalanx*, which involves walking side by side; and the *cluster*, which is a stationary circular or semicircular grouping of children. Each of these social forms can be specified by time, location, age and sex of participants, verbal and nonverbal language, and apparent goals or results. Subsequent analysis involved the specification of additional attributes and action chains that existed within each of these social forms. A fourth situation frame, the isolated individual, did not receive detailed analysis because the selected focus of the study is social groupings. A fifth situation frame, the crowd, was considered briefly, but the analysis of action chains revealed that this form of social grouping was usually, if not always, some combination of lines, phalanxes, clusters, and individuals. Details on the analytic procedures used to isolate these social forms are considered in Chapter Five.

The key situation frames examined in this study may be subsumed under the designation *social formations*. This phrase is used throughout this study consistent with the following definition:

A social formation is the physical arrangement of two or more people, for social interaction. The three principal social formations considered in this study are the line, phalanx, and cluster, each occurring in elementary schools particularly during major transitions.

Social formations occur, as noted in the preceding definition, during transitions. Transitions are defined throughout this study in the following manner:

A transition is a significant change in activity during the school day, generally based on and roughly predictable by a unit of time, both absolute time and relative length of duration of each activity. A major transition involves a change of activity associated with movement between classrooms, through hallways, and other physically defined spaces in the school. A minor transition is one that takes place within a classroom, hallway, or other physically defined space in the school.

The study of culture within the framework of symbolic interactionism subsequently informed the more emic perspective in later phases of the study. This involved interviews of groups of children focusing on aspects of the social forms emergent in the initial phases of the study. Yet interviews were also somewhat open-ended and flexible to encourage children to reveal their emic perspectives. Groups of children were interviewed to facilitate the emergence of peer culture during interviews. The rationale for using groups rather than individual interviews is described in Chapter Three. As expected, many comments reflected aspects of peer and school cultures, even when probes did not overtly request them. Videos of hallway activities also produced student comments thought to reflect their conferring of meaning to hallway events. Again, details on methodology are considered in Chapter Four.

Three Questions

Three questions are addressed by this research study. The first two questions reflect Hall's theoretical perspectives, while the third question reflects Blumer's symbolic interactionism. All three fit within the general framework of cultural analysis.

1. What formal whole-class movements occur in hallways?

This question considers the macro-level patterns of movement in the hallway context of elementary schoolchildren. The social form most often involved was the line. Lines are associated with rules imposed by teachers, as well as more proxemic issues such as the spacing between children, which can vary by sex, race, and other factors.

2. What informal social activities take place in hallways?

This second question addresses group formations and related activities that are not teacher imposed, most commonly the phalanx and cluster. Again Hall's proxemic theory and the corollary theories noted previously inform the understanding of these social formations. The circumstances under which clusters and phalanxes develop are considered, such as the time of day and presence or absence of teachers.

3. What do the various social formations and activities within them mean to children?

This question, which reflects symbolic interactionist theory, considers how children understand their own activities in the hallway and how they understand the activities of their peers in that context. Although the primary emphasis is on children's perspectives of the events and social formations in hallways, several teachers' perspectives are also briefly compared and contrasted with those of children.

Conclusion

Elementary school hallways are important places in school for many reasons, both academic and nonacademic. Although there has been little prior research on hallways as social contexts, several existing theories can inform the study of halls. Each of the theories described can potentially contribute to a better understanding of this cultural context. Hall's theory emphasizes a more etic or outsider perspective, while Blumer's symbolic interaction theory underscores the emic meanings of events to participants. These theories provide the framework for answering three key questions on what occurs in elementary school hallways.

CHAPTER II DESIGN AND DESIGNER

As noted in the previous chapter, very few research studies have given attention to the school hallway, and no previous study has been found that exclusively considered the social context of the elementary school hallway. Because this setting has been relatively unexplored by researchers, it is important to choose a research design that helps build constructs emergent from the setting, constructs that could not be anticipated prior to conducting the research. It is important to avoid imposing inappropriate constructs in any setting, and this is particularly a danger when little prior research exists about a context.

An important aspect of ethnographic design is the idea that the researcher is the research instrument. Subsequent to an examination of the overall design of this study, relevant aspects of the designer are considered.

The Anthropological Roots of Ethnography

Ethnography is ideally suited for relatively unknown settings because of its roots in the discipline of anthropology (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 4; Lancy, 1993, p. 4). The traditional anthropologist, up until recent decades, traveled to a relatively unknown part of the world, set up camp in or near an exotic tribal group, and became more or less a part of that tribe for a year or more. Usually the anthropologist had little information about the nature of the tribe being studied, and often the first months were spent learning the language--sometimes the first outsider to do so--and attempting to survive in the foreign environment. After one or more years the anthropologist returned to civilization to write up what she or he discovered. The goal was to try to capture not only the activities of the tribe, but also the way the members of that group thought about the activities and indeed their whole way of life. One of the goals of that experience was to find commonalities with other cultures, to "make the strange familiar."

Various aspects of ethnographic design developed as a result of these hardy anthropologists' experiences, methods and perspectives that were developed to maximally open the researcher to the unknown culture of the group studied. In recent years, however, ethnographic design has come to be applied in more familiar contexts to illuminate the latent and varying perspectives of persons in a given setting. Thus there is an increasing tendency to reverse the traditional anthropological maxim and to reverse the phrase, "make the familiar strange," to understand familiar groups in an innovative, refreshing way (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 3). Jackson (1990, p. xii), for example, studied an ordinary classroom, imagining it to be an exotic culture that had never before been experienced.

Considering its anthropological roots, ethnographic design is ideal for exploration of relatively unknown social contexts, although of course it is valuable for more familiar contexts as well. As I entered the elementary school I studied, I mentally pictured myself like the anthropologist of old entering an unfamiliar cultural context and attempting, first of all, to determine what were the most common social formations of my tribe and later to tap the meanings conferred to those social forms by the members of the tribe. I desired to make what is strange, or at least unknown in the research literature, more familiar.

Of course, the social context of a school hallway was not completely unknown to me. I attended public schools with hallways as a child. I observed in schools as a graduate student. So I also attempted to suspend my preconceptions and thus "make the familiar strange."

The anthropological roots of ethnographic design also fit well with the predominant theory orienting this research, culture theory. What better design could I find than that which emerged from the study of cultural groups, ethnography?

Defining and Applying Ethnographic Design

What precisely is ethnography? Ethnography is "the study of a phenomenon conceived of as an individual entity" with an emphasis upon reconstructing or re-creating "the shared beliefs, practices, artifacts, folk knowledge, and behaviors of some group of people" from the participants' perspectives (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 1-3, 45). Ethnography tends to use inductive methodologies that are more generative of categories and theories, in contrast with the more

deductive and verificative aspects of many other research approaches (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 40-44).

To become as open as possible to the data at a research site, many ethnographic researchers begin their work with very general questions and while in the field delimit their topics in response to what is observed. Agar (1980, pp. 9 & 13) describes this process as "funneling" the scope of interest from an initially broad, encompassing view to a narrower focus on what is perceived as most important in the context. Mehan (1979) comments that an initially broad scope is more likely to produce a comprehensive description of the phenomena studied. It is also likely to produce a wide variety of constructs and hypotheses that can be refined and perhaps verified later in the study or in subsequent research.

I began my research attempting to stay as open as possible to the social context of the school hallway. Even in the proposal for the study, several dozen questions were submitted. The intention was not to answer all the questions, but to indicate the many possible directions that could be followed in the setting. I was also careful to note that other possibilities might surface in the field and provided a means to change the direction and methodology of the research--by approval of my co-chairpersons. As I entered the site, I likewise kept as open a perspective as possible, writing down as much as I could about everything observed. Of course I could not record everything in my field notes, but I pushed myself to approximate that ideal. The narrowing began during the first day of observing, but I was overwhelmed with the diversity of hallway activity observed. (The field notes from that day are provided in chapter six, with later commentary added.)

One of the goals of an ethnographic study is to produce thick description of events in the social setting. This involves providing considerable detail about what happened, as well as quotations that illustrate the emic perspectives of those studied. Thick description in this study is based on my writing extensive field notes, returning to videotaped records of hallway events for details, and tape recording interviews with children and teachers. Although detailed description hangs on the framework of major constructs and hypotheses produced by data analysis, thick description allows the reader to experience the social setting, or at least envision it more as the researcher experienced it.

Ethnography or Ethnographic?

Is this research, then, ethnography? What appears to be an easy question to answer is actually ambiguous, as ethnography designates both a process of research and the product of research (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 1). Many of the methods used are clearly ethnographic, but the use of ethnographic tools does not necessarily constitute the production of an ethnography. Because the classic anthropological view of an ethnography involves the study of a cultural group (such as the school in its community, see Wolcott, 1982), some educational researchers prefer the term microethnography when studying one or more sections of a school, or even when multiple schools are researched (e.g. Cox, 1980, p. 4; Baker, 1985, p. 8). Because microethnography has been used in so many different ways, however, some have opted for other designations for designs that produce less than a full ethnography, such as "constitutive ethnography" (Mehan, 1979) or "ethnographic microanalysis" (Erickson, 1992).

The present research, then, is an ethnography in the sense of process but not necessarily in the sense of product. I did not spend one or more years, around the clock, in the school and community setting, as did the early anthropologists in their exotic tribes. Nor did I research all members of the cultural group--all children who make up this school's peer culture. Rather than use the vague term microethnography or embrace some newer synonym that may not quite fit my specific design, I use the adjective ethnographic to describe the approach used here. I am deeply indebted to the anthropological roots of many aspects of the design, and thus this adjective seems more appropriate than other options.

Validity and Reliability

Two issues limit the usefulness of any research design: validity and reliability. These indicate the trustworthiness and credibility of research findings.

Quantitative Reliability

Quantitative reliability refers to the consistency between two measures of behavior. Two

varieties of reliability are measured in the quantitative sections of this study: intraobserver reliability (consistency within the observer) and interobserver reliability (consistency between different observers). Reliability is considered necessary but not sufficient for establishing validity (Pellegrini, in preparation, pp. 170-171).

Both of these were measured at some point in my research. Two measures were used to calculate interobserver reliability in assigning behavior to categories, percentage of agreement and the kappa, while only percentage of agreement was used to determine intraobserver reliability in category designations. Percentage of agreement is a rough indicator of reliability, as it is not corrected for chance agreements, while the kappa does include a correction for chance. A kappa of over .80 is considered good, while a kappa of .60 to .80 is in the acceptable range (Pellegrini, in preparation, pp. 186-187). Correlations were used in determining duration reliabilities.

Reliability data was obtained through the comparison of category counts or durations by my observing the same segment of videotape multiple times and comparing the durations or category counts that resulted. My two sons, John (age twelve) and Stephen (age ten), provided frequency counts that were compared with my own counts. Similarly John noted the durations of social formations, using a different watch from mine and his own estimations of beginnings and endings of these groupings. Reliability data was obtained simultaneously by all three of us, although I was careful to not let the children observe my counting or one another's countings, and we used normal watches rather than stopwatches so that stopping the watch would not cue others to estimates of duration.

Interobserver reliability was tested in making the distinction between lines, phalanxes, and clusters. My two sons and I watched ten videotape segments, chosen more or less at random, and marked either the presence or absence of each of the three social formations, as well as individuals not participating in social interaction in the hallway. These independent observations produced an 82.5% agreement between John and me (kappa = .61) and 92.5% agreement between Stephen and me (kappa = .85). Intraobserver reliability for my tabulations was 93%.

Percentage of agreement and kappas also were applied to the determination of sex of children in adjacent positions in lines. My two sons and I observed a video segment twice to determine intraobserver reliability; only my data are used in the subsequent analysis. My observations had 90% agreement with John's, resulting in a kappa of .80. Stephen and I had 95% agreement, with a kappa of .90. Intraobserver reliability was 100% for John, 95% for Stephen, and 100% for me. Interobserver and intraobserver reliabilities for determining race of children were 100% agreement for everyone.

Reliabilities for durations of lines, phalanxes, and clusters were calculated using a Pearson Product Moment correlation coefficient. Both interobserver reliability, between John and me, and intraobserver reliability, my repeated observations, were .99. Variations between estimates of duration were usually one to two seconds.

Qualitative Reliability

Reliability is more difficult to assess in qualitative research, because the goal of *developing* and describing categories, rather than counting behaviors in those categories, precludes rigorous measurement procedures. Although replication at a second data site might be considered to be like test-retest reliability, strict replication is generally considered impossible by ethnographers because of the lack of standardized controls and because the behavior of people is never static (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 332). In addition, each site studied to some extent is unique. Multiple sites produce different data sets, which may reveal much about the variability of behavior and the range of contexts but less about reliability.

The concern for convergence (reliability) within the quantitative paradigm can be contrasted with the desire for divergence (developing many categories and elaborating or refining them) within the qualitative paradigm. The empirical world is in constant flux, individuals within it are continually creating and recasting events experienced within ever-changing perceptual and conceptual frameworks (Blumer, 1969b, p. 23). Different persons--including different researchers--construct the world in distinct ways, thus limiting interobserver reliability; likewise, any one researcher can change constructions within a short time, decreasing intraobserver reliability--indeed, this is a goal of qualitative research. Reliability describes the consistency of the measuring

instrument, and the instrument in qualitative research is the researcher. Likewise test-retest reliability can only be approximated because the test instrument--again, the researcher--is not exactly the same at two points in time (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 298-299). A paradox of qualitative research is when the researcher is maximally changing ways of looking at things because of the data observed, reliability as traditionally understood is minimized. It is minimal not because observation is less trustworthy, but because observed data make a difference in how perceptions are conceptualized. It might even be argued that consistencies between observations are more likely to be due to consistent researcher bias rather than to the data being consistently observed. More important than reliability, therefore, is the issue of validity.

However, some qualitative researchers suggest that a degree of reliability is desirable. Reliability is fostered by using low-inference descriptors; comparing multiple observers viewing the same events, which is inter-rater reliability; using research assistants; asking peers to examine findings; or mechanically recording data (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 338-340). Reliability could also be represented in terms of the consistency in sorting behaviors into categories or consistency in designating behaviors by function.

In this study qualitative reliability is fostered both interpersonally and mechanically. My two sons developed and revised major categories of events and behaviors listed by children interviewed in my hallway study. In the process the boys and I discussed these categories at length, particularly in relation to what activities belonged to which categories. After numerous discussions and changes in categories, over several days' time, we eventually achieved complete agreement in categorizing the behaviors and events within categories.

In addition qualitative reliability is addressed mechanically through the use of videotaping observations and audiotaping interviews. These have not yet been analyzed for reliability through complete transcription; partial transcription procedures were used, but several transcriptions of the same tapes using multiple transcribers is anticipated in the future. Some qualitative methodologists suggest that strict measures of qualitative reliability are impossible and thus rely on indications of validity because the presence of validity implies reliability (Benson, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 316). Lincoln and Guba (p. 317) also suggest that overlapping findings from different methods of research also indicate reliability, which is a procedure used occasionally in this research study. However, this is perhaps better understood as an indication of convergent validity rather than a measure of reliability, to be considered shortly.

Internal Validity

Internal validity is a major strength in qualitative research (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 341), evidenced in several ways. Lincoln and Guba (1985, pp. 301-304) emphasize the importance of a lengthy stay in a naturalistic setting, allowing for extended engagement with persons that can reveal the researcher's distortions and selective perceptions. An extended time in the field also allows patterns of behavior to stabilize, which is essential for reliability as well as validity. A lengthy stay also provides informants the opportunity to develop trust in the researcher, imperative for revelation of perspectives. Persistent observation in the research context also provides depth and focus, as more attention is given to multiple influences that surface and detailed analysis is given to those factors that are most relevant or salient while avoiding premature closure. Persistence takes place with an attitude of skepticism, as premature closure on an issue may result in the easy acceptance of deception or pretense to be socially acceptable. The depth resulting from persistent observation balances the breadth that a lengthy stay in the field produces, Lincoln and Guba emphasize. In addition to a lengthy stay with persistent observation, validity is enhanced by reliance on informant interviews for data and by the researcher's constant self-monitoring (LeCompte & Preissle, 1994, pp. 342-348).

I studied the school over a four month period, which can be considered a lengthy period of time. Throughout that time I continually monitored my perceptions and impressions through personal notes and theoretical notes, which are considered in detail in later chapters. This self-monitoring, as well as the extended period of observing allowed me to correct misconceptions and observe the many varieties of the social formations considered. Some of these misconceptions and self-corrections are considered in Chapter Five. I also note in several places my surprise at certain findings, another indication of self-monitoring and thus internal validity. In addition, the several sessions of interviews allowed time for trust to develop with children, evidenced by describing

behavior in which they participated that was forbidden and punished; they would be unlikely to do so with other adults in the school due to lack of trust. The depth and breadth of the study are indicated by the description of findings in Chapters Five through Eleven.

Triangulation also helps establish the validity of qualitative research. Triangulation involves obtaining multiple perspectives of the same event; when those perspectives coincide or are similar, this suggests some degree of validity. Several forms of triangulation for establishing validity have been suggested (Patton, 1990, pp. 464-470; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 305-307). When both qualitative and quantitative procedures produce equivalent results, this is a form of *source* triangulation. Within the quantitative paradigm, this might be considered convergent validity, without a coefficient, comparing multiple methods in the multitrait-multimethod approach to validity (see Crocker & Algina, 1986, pp. 232-235). Although Lincoln and Guba suggest that discrepant findings between qualitative and quantitative methods indicate the likelihood of error in one of the methods, Patton believes that discrepancies may reflect different kinds of questions being answered as well as the difficulties involved in determining convergence.

Source triangulation is evidenced by the use of both qualitative and quantitative procedures in my study. For example, my impression that phalanxes were more common than clusters, recorded in field notes during observations, was confirmed by quantitative measurement using videotapes. Other examples of convergence between qualitative and quantitative procedures are considered in later chapters on findings.

A second variety is *method* triangulation, comparing the results of different qualitative procedures. Again, Patton emphasizes that discrepant findings do not necessarily indicate invalid results; rather they may reflect the need to discover why and when those differences occur--different methods may capture different aspects of behavior. In addition *multiple investigators* or data analysts can be triangulated to determine consistencies, although this requires close communication so that both observers or analysts are studying the same thing.

Several interactive and noninteractive methods were used in my study, which converged occasionally. Many of the comments of children were consistent with what I had observed earlier, even though I purposefully framed questions to them that would not be leading. However, consistent with Patton's comment, there were also differences, particularly in that children described a wider variety of activities than what I observed. This underscored my preoccupation with social formations, which is consistent with my theoretical framework, but also indicated that I overlooked many specific hallway events, such as children sharing food with one another, while doing earlier observations. It is also likely that some of these activities children described were hidden from me during observations but willingly explicated after trust had developed during interviews.

I asked the undergraduate student who helped with videotaping to keep a record of trends she observed. I gave her no guidelines in this respect. She only jotted a few comments, but these underscored several trends I had observed earlier. Teacher comments during interviews at the conclusion of the study could also be considered multiple investigator triangulation, and convergence between these comments and my findings from observations and interviews of children are noted in later chapters. The videotapes and cassettes recorded potentially allow further triangulation by others in the future.

Lincoln and Guba do not favor the use of *theoretical* triangulation because they believe that multiple theories explaining the same phenomenon do not indicate evidence for the existence of the phenomenon. Patton, in contrast, emphasizes the value of theory triangulation because this process reveals how different premises and assumptions influence interpretation. I used a limited degree of theoretical triangulation by relating some findings to the two theories that framed the study, theories by Hall and Blumer.

Benson and Hagtvet (in preparation) use theory differently to establish validity. They suggest that multiple studies reflect different aspects of a given theory. These studies can produce results consistent with predictions by different aspects of the theory. The congruities between divergent theoretical predictions and empirical findings constitute a "nomological network" variety of construct validity. This nomological network can be conceptualized as triangulating multiple studies within different aspects of a theoretical framework. Benson and Hagtvet apply this form of validity analysis for quantitative data, but it might be adapted for qualitative validity as well, a possibility I wish to investigate in the future.

LeCompte and Preissle (1994, pp. 341-348) emphasize that qualitative validity is enhanced

by the researcher who stays open by means of self-monitoring and the active search for negative cases; this is also emphasized by Lincoln and Guba (1985, pp. 309-313) and Patton (1990, pp. 463-464). Mehan (1979, p. 20) notes that the search for negative cases helps accomplish the goal of accounting for all incidents, as he does in his three step analysis of teacher-student interaction. The search for negative cases was used in my data analysis, as detailed in Chapter Five, although I note that accounting for every case can be an ideal not always reached.

Interview data are likely to counteract preconceived notions, assuming interviews are open-ended and not unduly influenced by the researcher's constructs, suggest LeCompte and Preissle. My interviews were to some extent open-ended, as I allowed and sometimes encouraged students to discuss related and even tangential issues, and I attempted to avoid leading probes. I encouraged openness rather than premature closure; for example, several times a member of a group would make a comment, to which others agreed, and I would inject a discrepant comment made by a child in another group to encourage discussion of different viewpoints. Yet it is possible that I unconsciously encouraged some reactions by unconscious body language. Some of my questions were clearly related to what I had observed earlier and a-priori theoretical concerns, but I attempted to encourage children to contradict my views if they wished. To some extent the degree of open-endedness and researcher construct contamination may be evaluated by examining interview protocols in Appendix A and my interview approach described in Chapter Four.

Member checks, in which a sample of those studied and others who share the context of the study are asked to verify, dispute, or revise categories and other emergent findings, can also contribute to conclusions on validity, though this procedure is not without its difficulties (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 314-316). Blumer (1969b, p. 22) similarly speaks of those being studied "talking back" to the researcher, correcting unrealistic portrayals of their views. Member checks were used throughout interviews, as I sometimes paraphrased what one or more children had said previously, either within the group or from another group, and asked if my understanding was accurate. I also used summary member checks of both children and teachers at the conclusion of the study, and both convergent and divergent results are reported in later chapters.

Ultimately, concludes Patton (pp. 468-469), qualitative validity is established by evidence of believability of findings such as including sufficient raw data in the report, such as quotations from participants, and remaining open-ended so that readers are allowed to reach conclusions on their own and develop at least some of their own generalizations. I provide numerous citations of children in later chapters, raw data as evidence for my conclusions. I also encouraged children to make some generalizations during interviews, again evidenced by protocols in appendix A.

Another means of confirming the trustworthiness of qualitative research is through the use of an "audit trail" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 319-320), which involves the researcher archiving research materials. These include raw data in the form of videotapes or handwritten field notes, the products of data reduction and analysis such as theoretical notes, indications of data synthesis and reconstruction such as reports and descriptions of category structure development, notes on the process of research such as methodological notes, documents that reflect dispositions and intentions such as personal notes and the research proposal, and information about instruments used such as forms and schedules. These can then be made available for an external audit. The "audit trail" is valuable for both qualitative and quantitative research, Lincoln and Guba claim. I have archived hundreds of pages of notes, as well as many hours of videotape and cassette tapes, which constitute an audit trail that can be examined. Some of these notes are included in later chapters, which constitute a partial audit trail.

In conclusion, it can be noted that internal validity is addressed in many different ways by qualitative researchers. Several of these are considered in my research. The establishment of internal validity involves the degree of confidence placed upon findings, not absolute determination.

External Validity

LeCompte and Preissle (1993, pp. 349) describe external validity as the degree to which a research site is typical, and the likelihood of generalizing results. The credibility of applying findings to alternate sites is affected by the selection of persons studied, the setting in which they are studied, the distinct historical background and situation at the time of the study, and the degree to which the constructs defined are shared across people, settings, and time.

Ethnographic researchers often perceive external validity differently than those scholars

operating from the quantitative perspective. In qualitative research, establishing applicability to other sites is considered a joint venture of the researcher and the one making the application. It is important that researchers fulfill their obligations in establishing external validity by describing those studied, the context, and other aspects of the research process, but just as important is the task of the individual who wishes to apply findings to an alternate site. The qualitative researcher provides the data from which generalization is possible, but specific application to other contexts requires knowledge of the second context, which the researcher does not possess (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 316).

I *directly* addressed external validity in my study to only a minor extent. This was done by comparing the lower elementary wing of Pellegrini elementary with the main site studied, the upper elementary wing of the same school. Convergent comparisons with other schools cited from the literature can also be considered a way of addressing external validity. More important, I describe in detail numerous aspects of the school environment and surrounding community in the next chapter, providing the basis for future attempts at generalization to other schools. Someone who wishes to make generalizations can compare these characteristics with those of the site to which findings are to be generalized to determine the degree of similarity and thus generalizability. In the next chapter I will make the case that a greater number and greater diversity of constructs emerge from an ideal site like Pellegrini elementary than would be found at a more typical site, thus the likelihood of generalizing *certain* constructs is greater at an ideal rather than typical site. Finally, I hope that other researchers will study additional sites that are very different from Pellegrini elementary to determine the commonalities across divergent contexts. Commonalities found across very different kinds of contexts suggest the likelihood of greater generalizability.

Summation

Validity and reliability are important in qualitative research, often discussed under the rubrics of credibility or trustworthiness. As noted, some of the qualitative validity issues raised here are more specifically addressed in later chapters on setting, participants, and methodology, although not always overtly linked with the topic of validity.

Although quantitative reliability is addressed in this study by using percentage of agreement and kappas, quantitative validity is not as well addressed as the qualitative equivalent. Because multiple sites have not been investigated and the sampling of quantitative data herein is quite limited and less than random, conclusions about quantitative data must remain suggestive and tentative. However, to the degree that those conclusions coincide with qualitative data, the possibility of validity can be inferred by considering triangulation to be a form of convergent validity between quantitative and qualitative approaches. Perhaps some of the hypotheses suggested will, with further study in other contexts, become theories that can be tested through the nomological network form of construct validity.

Researcher and Role

More than other research traditions, ethnographic research emphasizes the distinctive contribution of the researcher (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 86-87). The researcher is considered the instrument of data collection (pp. 91-92), thus relevant past experiences of the researcher and the role taken in the research setting are important influences that affect conclusions. Rather than dismissing these influences, ethnographic researchers carefully examine role and prior experience to determine how these may have affected the data collected.

Ethnography holds to the philosophical perspective that a phenomenon is always affected by observation, particularly in a natural environment, thus eliminating the influence of the researcher is impossible. This contrasts with the positivist ideal of the interchangeability of researchers; the findings of one researcher are ideally the same that would be discovered by any other researcher (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 86). Ethnography emphasizes the distinctive characteristics of each researcher and how those characteristics influence what is selected for study and how it is studied. The researcher's prior experience and identity are a vital aspect of research design (p. 92), as is the establishing and monitoring one's role throughout a study (p. 101). These are also crucial to determining reliability and validity of a study, as noted earlier. The role established by a researcher is itself a source of rich data about the participants in a social context; the goal is not to develop a standardized researcher role, as this can produce artificial behavior by

participants (Katz, 1983). Complete objectivity, in which the researcher does not influence the environment, is impossible, as this goal rests upon a naive form of positivism (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 299-300). In contrast, Lincoln and Guba recommend that researchers maintain a reflexive journal of their experiences providing information about the human instrument of research, which could include information about the role of the researcher and impact of previous experiences (p. 327).

My Previous Experience

For most of my childhood, my parents were involved in public education: my mother as a special education teacher and my father as a sixth grade teacher who later became a school psychologist. As early as fourth grade I helped my mother grade papers. As a child I sometimes attended graduate classes and education conferences with my parents. I attended the schools where my parents taught for two years and vividly recall time spent in the hallway reading and playing while waiting for them to leave for home. Although I recall my father once telling me he hoped I would do something other than teach, I am sure these influences helped interest me in education.

I have liked hallways for most of my life. One of my earliest memories is playing cars and trucks with my best friend in the long hallway of his house. In first or second grade a kindly custodian let me help him sweep the elementary school hallways, for which he flipped me a nickel or dime as payment. Later in my elementary years I helped run a school store located in a section of the hallway. Some of the best fun of the year was the annual spook house held in the school hallway. In my high school years the school hallways, a forbidden locale during classes, became a place for secret encounters with friends, always attempting to avoid the eye of the principal. I recall telling my wife that I always wanted a long hallway in my house, and mine has one.

Although I did not become a public schoolteacher like my parents, I began a major in that area as an undergraduate and am completing a third graduate degree in educational psychology. I once applied to teach young mentally disabled children in a public school, but withdrew my application when the superintendent told me the school board would "never approve a *man* for that job." I currently teach at a college that prepares students for elementary and secondary public school teaching, and most of the time I teach at least one class in the school of teacher education. I have completed fifteen years of college level teaching.

Thus I am both an insider and outsider to public school education. I am an insider in that I attended public schools for all of my childhood years, my parents gave me an early inside look at elementary school teaching, and I now help prepare prospective schoolteachers. But I am still an outsider because I have never been an elementary school teacher. I *have* taught children, in churches beginning in high school, and as a volunteer at camps and a children's home. I occasionally use children to demonstrate pedagogical techniques or characteristics of children in the college classes I teach. Several months prior to this study I helped collect data for a research study at an elementary school and briefly conducted an experimental study at a second school.

As a result of these influences I am familiar with the terminology used by elementary educators and some of the problems faced by them. But, as an outsider, perhaps I am more aware of the elementary school environment. Lancy (1993) notes that researchers who have been teachers tend to be as aware of the school environment as fish are aware of water. As a college teacher doing research in an elementary school, I am a fish in different water or at least in a very different fish bowl.

Researcher Role

The researcher role can vary from complete participant to detached observer, with intermediate positions of participant observer or observer as participant (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 93-94). These roles can change as a study progresses, and in longer studies participants can forget the researcher is observing. The role taken affects the amount, type, and sources of information acquired (p. 101).

My Role with Students

My role with students changed during the study. During the first two days I attempted to distinguish my role from that of teachers by sitting on the floor of the hallway. Because of discomfort, I purchased a large pillow to sit on, but the hard walls were still uncomfortable for my

back. I then realized that sometimes children sent to the hallway to do schoolwork brought school desks with them, and with the prompting of teachers and children I began sitting in a standard chair to do my observing. Sitting in the chair actually allowed me to observe more at the child's eye level, thus I was seeing more of what the youngsters saw. But I believe the early sitting period did establish the idea that I had a distinctive role different from the teachers, sought so that the youngsters would not change their behavior as they often did for teachers.

For the first several weeks I was asked many times each day by children who I was and what I was doing. My standard answer was that I was a university student trying to discover what happened in school hallways. Several students asked if I was spying for the administration, and I assured them that I was not and would not show my videotapes to teachers or the principal. I encouraged them to act as they would normally and occasionally assured them I would not tell on them. Student observers from nearby colleges were common in the school, therefore children were less likely to be threatened by my presence; they were more likely to be used to outsiders observing them. However, student observers--unlike me--observed in the classrooms rather than in the hallway, and they did not use videocameras. I am also older than most student observers.

I was friendly with children during these initial observations, but rarely engaged a child in conversation. On a few occasions one or two children stopped to talk with me, and usually I exchanged brief friendly comments, but then turned my head to resume an observation position. Usually children would then move on to their destination. When children asked my name, I told them "Don," but only one boy regularly called me by that name. On a few occasions I saw an adult who knew me and called me "Mr. Ratcliff," but I usually asked them to call me "Don," explaining that I hoped students would do the same. The goal of using the first name was again to distinguish my role from other adults in the school, to encourage children to act as they would if no adult were present.

What attracted children most was the videocamera I used beginning the third day of observation. When children asked to look in the camera viewfinder, I agreed but asked them not to touch the camera. When they did touch the camera, one reminder was generally sufficient to discourage the handling of the instrument, though not the viewing through the viewfinder. I was friendly but sometimes detached in these interactions.

Children often had fun acting and pretending for the camera. On at least one occasion a child asked me if I was from a television station. I sometimes felt I took the role of audience for the clowning of children. My first thought is that I did not solicit this role of audience, but actually I did; the uninvolved observer is by definition an audience. The children may have been acting because they realized I was observing and could not imagine my having a serious interest in the mundane activities of the hallway, so they provided me with what they thought would be much more interesting.

On only three occasions did children attempt to move me into a child role while in the hallway. About a month into the study several sixth grade girls walked toward me and one asked me if I loved the girl next to her. The other girl was obviously embarrassed, and I said I thought she was a nice girl but I didn't love her. The group of girls walked away, laughing about the incident while the girl being teased was a bit sullen. This incident was repeated a few days later with the same two girls, although this time I was not given an opportunity to respond and the girl being teased pretended not to notice. A third incident occurred when I stood on a bench in the middle section of the school to get a better view of the children, and a child warned me that I might be punished if I got caught. Although these incidents did not place me completely in a child role, they suggest that at least some youngsters placed me in a role different from teachers and somewhat closer to that of a child.

Not until one of my university classes pointed it out did I realize the potential for a horrible connotation to my presence in the school hallway. As part of personal introductions in the course, I described my research on school hallways, and the instructor openly wondered what kids thought of an older man standing around in the shadows of the hallway, watching them walk by. The class of university students immediately burst with laughter. I think that connotation was avoided by my sitting in the hallway, using a videocamera, and perhaps by the likelihood that teachers assured the children I was legitimately studying the school.

To summarize, then, my role during the first few weeks of observation was a detached observer, an audience, and a cameraman. I was an object of rare interest after the first few days,

although my camera elicited greater, though sporadic interest.

When interviews began, my role changed. Although I continued to tell them I was a university student, I also described a book I would write from their comments. This idea was used by Goetz (1975, pp. 305-306), who allowed children to look at her field notes and discuss the contents of the book. Davies (1982, p. 21) told children that she was writing a book about their ideas, so they were her teachers and it was important that they help her "get it right." I attempted to incorporate this into my role as well, emphasizing to the children that I believed adults often misunderstood children--to which they readily agreed. Although I stressed my role as a learner and my desire to educate others to the viewpoints of children, I do not believe the children always saw themselves as my teacher. My role as a learner was undercut by my showing videotapes of hallway behavior and asking children to explain them for me; my playing tapes and asking questions were more like a teacher's actions, although I occasionally repeated to them that I wanted to learn from their comments.

I also attempted to maintain a role of friend during interviews. I was friendly and occasionally allowed children to depart from the focus of the study to talk about other things in which they had an interest, although I soon attempted to redirect the conversation back to the topic of hallways. Occasionally I joined the children's friendly banter and underscored to them that I would keep their identities confidential so they would not get in trouble. I also emphasized that they should not share what other children said in the group sessions, although I told them they could tell others what *I* said.

The role of friend was more readily maintained in some groups than others. In one group of fourth grade girls, the reciprocity of friendship became clear. One of the questions I asked them was what boys they would invite to a party, and after responding with smiles and giggles they asked me what girls I would invite to a party.

I may have had somewhat of a role of parent or nurturing adult with some children. During one group session a third grade girl snuggled up next to me. In the hallway a fourth grade boy spontaneously walked up and hugged me warmly. I did not take these to be consistent with a friend role as these affectionate actions rarely occurred among peers.

During the member check at the end of the study, I asked the children to describe my role during the group sessions, suggesting that I might have been like a friend, a teacher, or something else. Most of the children said I was a friend, perhaps because as one boy said, "You're nice to us." Three children said I was like a teacher, one of them adding that I sounded like a teacher because I asked so many questions. Another child said I was "a grown up kid." A girl summed up what I sensed was a general consensus, "You're like a friend *and* like a teacher." This is not unlike the role described by Goetz (1975, p. 304) which combined friendship with a student role and a helper-teacher role.

I must admit I am disappointed that the teacher role was emphasized in the member check. I had tried to avoid that role from the beginning of the research. Yet I suspect that one of the distinguishing trademarks of a teacher is asking questions, and how can one do interviews without asking questions? Is not the asking of questions central to any research? The difference between a teacher's role and researcher's role in questioning is that the teacher knows the answer before asking, while the researcher does not; the researcher asks questions to discover the answers while the teacher asks questions to determine if students have learned expected answers. (I am indebted to Shirley Brice Heath, 1982, for this distinction--she notes that white parents ask questions to evaluate children's knowledge, while African American working class parents ask questions to discover answers not yet known to the adult.) But teachers probably do ask more questions than anyone else in a child's life, so it is understandable that I would be placed in that role.

My Role with Teachers

The role I took with teachers changed somewhat over the course of the study. During the previsit on the day I received permission to do the study from the principal, I was a college teacher to my former student, and I introduced myself as college teacher and university student to other teachers with whom I spoke.

The first day of the study I was introduced by the school counselor to teachers in a faculty meeting as a researcher and college teacher. During the meeting I mentioned that I had taught several of the teachers at the school, but emphasized that I did not want to interfere with what

happened in the school. I was friendly but talked only occasionally with teachers during the initial weeks of observation.

Only once during this time did a teacher ask me to assume a teacher role. Several weeks into the study I was observing from an entryway shared by a teacher I had casually talked with several times. She asked me to be sure a given student did not leave her room while she went to the boys' rest room to find another of her students. Without thinking it through, I agreed, and she returned within a minute or two without incident. After that episode I pledged to myself not to take on that pseudo-monitor role again, and the situation was never repeated.

A somewhat closer relationship was established with the three teachers whose homeroom children I interviewed. I emphasized to them several times that I did not want to intrude on their classroom activities, and they assured me I had not. I tried to avoid any elitism or condescension, although a couple of teachers commented that they admired my working on a doctoral degree. The relationship with teachers was professional but not collegial; I visited the faculty lounge only to use the rest room and charge the videocamera battery.

During the teacher interviews the week after students were dismissed for the summer, I attempted to establish a warmer and more personal interaction to facilitate the communication of their perspectives about students and the school, as well as solicit feedback during the member check. I believe this was accomplished. None of the five teachers appeared anxious to terminate the two hour interview or even take a break when it was offered. Several of the teachers expressed strong interest in my preliminary findings, although each offered corrections and revisions.

When asked about perceptions of other teachers about my role, two of the five teachers interviewed indicated that faculty simply ignored me and rarely if ever talked to one another about my being in the school. One teacher commented that during the first few days of the observations some teachers were glad when the camera was gone because they were afraid their kids would misbehave in the hallways. Another teacher said that teachers saw me merely as a university student. These comments suggest that I was fairly distant from teachers subsequent to the initial few days when I may have been perceived as a potential threat by some teachers.

Conclusion

Ethnographic design has the potential for illuminating a variety of constructs and participant perspectives of the school hallway. It appears to be ideal for exploratory research such as this study. My background and role were important influences in this research. The act of collecting data, as well as my perceptions of that data, are affected by these influences. My goal was not to eliminate these factors, but to articulate them to identify their effect on this study.

CHAPTER III

SETTING AND PARTICIPANTS

In the previous chapter it was emphasized that external validity of ethnographic research depends on the description of the research setting and those that participate in the study. This chapter describes the setting, including the process of selecting and entering the research site. The selection and description of participants is also important in determining the representativeness of findings.

Choosing and Entering the Research Setting

Selection of a group to study may occur on the basis of initial definition of the group, theoretical direction, curiosity, or other influences such as convenience. More importantly, the researcher is to identify the setting, how that site was selected, and some of its general characteristics (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 57-59). Entry into the research site is defined here as the initial contact with the school, not the first day of research (the latter is described in Chapter Six).

My research was conducted at Pellegrini Elementary School located in the small city of Preissleville, Georgia (pseudonyms are used for all proper nouns). Long before I had developed my research proposal, the school system of which Pellegrini elementary is a part was casually recommended to me by a colleague who had some professional association with the superintendent and principals. This colleague indicated that the schools in the county-wide school system that served Preissleville were likely to be open to research and I might consider investigating this possibility.

In November, 1993, I made an appointment to meet with the superintendent of schools, and several days later met with him in his office for about a half hour. In our initial conversation we found we had several mutual acquaintances, including one of the chairpersons of my doctoral committee. I provided him with a brief outline of the intended research, which he quickly read. He gave immediate approval and offered to write a letter of introduction to each of the four principals in the school system. The superintendent described the four schools in detail, with particular emphasis on patterns of hallway traffic and the lighting in the school hallways for videotaping. He said that he was sure all four principals would be cooperative, and his only stipulation for the study was that the results be shared with him at the conclusion. He said the topic would make "an excellent study" and recommended Pellegrini elementary as the most interesting site to consider.

During the next few weeks I met individually with each of the principals in the four Preissleville schools--all middle aged, white males--and walked through the hallways of the four schools. I took notes on the school architecture, with particular emphasis on the hallways of the school. Each principal was provided a written summary of the intended research. From each principal I obtained information about the student population and community served as well as the daily schedule as it related to children's movements in the hallway. All four principals expressed some interest in the proposed research, and three of the four gave permission for the study; the fourth deferred a decision because he questioned the legality of videotaping in the hallways. Of the three who gave permission, one principal asked that the videotapes not be shown to other university students; this had been written into the research proposal as a means of observer triangulation. A second principal would allow study only of hallways serving older elementary students. Mr. Martin, the principal of Pellegrini elementary, did not impose any restrictions for the study.

I reviewed and reflected for some time on the extensive notes I had taken at each site. Three factors affected the decision in favor of Pellegrini elementary: the unqualified support of the principal, a schedule that maximizes hallway movement of children, and a student body of multiple ethnic and sociodemographic groups because such diversity can add to the spectrum of behavior in the hallway.

Although I had never visited Pellegrini elementary prior to meeting with Mr. Martin, I found the site personally appealing because it is a newer building than the other three schools and because two of the teachers are my former students. Two other teachers were very friendly and talked with me for several minutes in the course of examining the hallways, something that never

happened in the other three schools. Principal Martin's friendliness and warm support for the research, as well as his businesslike manner, were also appealing. These factors, as well as the superintendent's recommendation, may have exerted some unconscious influence on my decision, although I consciously attempted to exclude that influence in making the decision.

The selected site can be described as an *ideal* case selection (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 77) in that student presence and activity in the hallway is maximal. Most of the time one or more children were in the hallway. Many times in my field notes I noted the high level of activity in the main hallway studied, as well as the diversity this produced. This is because the school was overcrowded, exceeding its intended capacity considerably; nearly all of the seven hundred children in the school passed through this hallway at least twice during the day, and about half of the student body entered it far more often for class changes.

The selection of such an ideal site, probably far more active than the average school hallway, raises questions about generalization of findings to other schools. Would not a more typical school provide greater generalizability? I believe there probably is no typical school hallway. Elementary school hallways vary in many ways, and even more important school schedules vary widely. For example, some schools use departmentalized approaches that involve students moving from one room and teacher to another for each subject, while other schools use a block structure where most students remain with the same teacher and room all day. Different patterns of activity occur in the hallway depending on the schedule used.

Generalization of findings, then, is dependent not on the school site being typical, but on the condition that constructs and hypotheses found in one site be applicable to a second site. An ideal site, such as Pellegrini elementary, which uses both block and departmental approaches, is more likely to generate a larger number of constructs and hypotheses because of the high number of children and subsequent diversity of behavior. Some of these constructs and hypotheses may generalize to some schools better than others, depending on the similarity to the particular issue involved. That similarity is *not* determined by the researcher, but rather by the person who wishes to generalize from a given study. It is, of course, the responsibility of the researcher to describe the research site in detail so that others may make comparisons and attempt generalization to other sites (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 296-298).

Describing the Site

To develop a suitable framework for describing the research setting, I consulted several ethnographic studies, in some ways similar in design to mine (Baker, 1985; Best, 1983; Borman & Lippincott, 1982; Bossert, 1979; Cox, 1980; Goetz, 1975; Herrera, 1988; King, 1978; Mehan, 1979; Metz, 1978). Ten components were distilled from these sources: the community, the school system, the school building, the school organization, school leadership, history of the school, the annual schedule of events, the classroom or classrooms studied, teachers and staff, and students. The last component, the children in the study, is described later in this chapter. As noted previously, the reason for such a detailed description of the site is to aid generalizability of findings to other sites.

The Community

Preissville, Georgia, is a small city located in the southeastern United States. The area is in the foothills of the Appalachian mountains in the northern part of the state. The area is known for its scenic beauty and several historically significant locations.

The population of about ten thousand in the city, and another ten thousand in the remainder of the county, is a blend of several divergent groups. The two populations most indigenous to the area represent cultural influences of the Deep South and Appalachian regions. Several other groups have moved into the area in recent decades, including retirees from many sections of the United States, people who came from a nearby metropolis, including a few who commute daily to that city, and a few immigrants from other countries. There is also a significant but more transient population of students who attend three colleges in the area; many of these come from Florida and midwestern or northern states.

Per capita income is somewhat lower than average for the state and significantly lower than average for the United States. Most of the population is employed in small industries of one hundred to two hundred employees. Residents of the community are primarily middle and working

class. Unemployment is generally below 10%, and during the study a local newspaper reported it at 5.2%.

The racial makeup of the community is predominantly European American; 21% of the Preissville population is African American and 12% of the county is African American. Less than 1% of the population is identified with other ethnic or racial groups, primarily from India, Latin America, and Asia. Community leaders comment that there is little racial tension in the area and take pride in being one of the first predominantly white communities in the country to elect an African American mayor. However, in recent years there have been news reports of racial conflicts, particularly between high school students.

A variety of social services are available to the community, including above average medical resources for the region. Most of the churches in the area are conservative, the most common denomination being Southern Baptist. The political orientation of the community has traditionally been Democratic although in recent years a tiny Republican party has developed.

The School System and Catchment Area

Although the principals report directly to the superintendent, the principal of Pellegrini elementary noted that they had a lot of freedom. Indeed, in the four months of my study, I only saw the superintendent at the school one time. However, during my initial interview with him, I was struck by the degree of his knowledge about the school sites and scheduling.

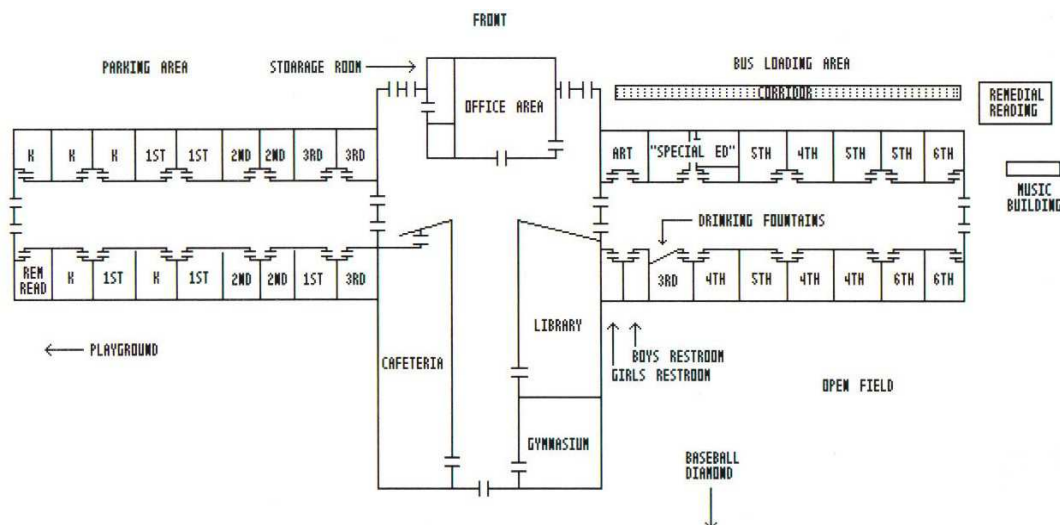
The catchment area for Pellegrini elementary is a blend of urban and rural. Nearly one-fourth of the rural portion of the county is included as is about half of a section of the city known for high crime rates. The principal said that three-quarters of the children in the school are from families with lower middle to lower income levels, with perhaps half below the poverty line.

When asked about parental attitudes toward education, the principal said that most parents were interested in education and his school, although many had little success themselves in this area. He was disappointed at their poor attendance at parent-teacher meetings and was unsure whether that indicated apathy or trust that the school was doing well without their help. He noted that parental interest in the school was highest at the beginning of the year and more likely with the first child. Often, he believed, parents did not take much time to help their children with schoolwork.

School Buildings

The main building at Pellegrini elementary is about seven years old and in very good condition. Although built to handle about six hundred students, the student population was approximately seven hundred at the time of the study. To handle some of the overflow, outside portable buildings were added.

The main building has three wings and a large central section (see Figure One). The left wing, as seen in the drawing, extends from the central area and houses



the lower elementary grades, kindergarten through second grades and three sections of third grade, and a remedial reading classroom, with outside doors to a well-equipped playground area. A right wing, extending the opposite direction from the central area, is for the upper elementary children with one third grade room and all fourth to sixth grades, an art room, and a small area for mentally disabled and behavior disabled children, designated "Chapter I" by a hallway sign. The outside door opens toward two portable buildings, an open play area, and a ball diamond. A covered but otherwise open corridor is in front of this wing, which is used for boarding buses. A third wing, extending from the central section, contains a library, gymnasium, and cafeteria. All three wings converge on the central area, which holds administrative offices, a teacher's lounge, and a "time out" room for children, all of which are linked to a large central secretary's office. Where the two classroom wings meet the central section are a custodian room, a storage area, and outside doors.

The two classroom wings are similarly designed with cement blocks for walls, standard ceilings with recessed lighting, and carpet. Entryways to classrooms are recessed, with two doors opening to each entryway. To pass from either classroom wing to the middle area of the school involves going through a metal divider with two doors and a middle glass section. The major structural difference between the two classroom wings is the inclusion of several drinking fountains and two large restrooms in the upper elementary hallway at the end next to the central section of the building. Metal strips with inlaid cork, ostensibly for posting artwork, run the entire lengths of both hallways.

Although the two classroom hallways are structurally very similar, the most striking difference between them was the number of decorations posted on the walls by teachers and teacher assistants. The lower elementary wing walls were almost filled with children's creations, including paintings, construction paper creations, test papers, and many other things. At times the hallway was overwhelming with these pieces of artwork, some of them hanging from the ceiling. Each teacher decorated the area of the hallway next to her room, and artwork was changed every two or three weeks. In contrast, most of the walls in the upper elementary wing were bare for most of the four months of my study except around the art room and the only third grade class in that wing. Although these sections of the hall, both closest to the central section, were well decorated and artwork was changed often, the remainder of the hallway was a stark contrast, despite one or two teachers occasionally hanging a few test papers there. During the last weeks of school a couple of teachers also hung some artwork in this area, but even this was meager in contrast with the other wing.

Johnson (1982), in his analysis of school space, notes that access to the school is carefully monitored and controlled by "guardians of the complex." This is represented at the present site by the main entrances to the school being located next to the central section and by windows in administrators' offices--the principal's window looked out to the front of the school, while the assistant principal's window provided a view of the entrance used by arriving buses. Johnson also contrasts the highly decorated walls of the elementary school he studied with the very plain walls of a nearby secondary school. He explains the difference by suggesting that the decorations were a means of "enticing" new students, while the plain walls implied the importance of standardization and equality. The change in decorations by grade level at Pellegrini elementary are consistent with Johnson's findings, although I suspect there may be other reasons for less artwork in the upper elementary wing-- perhaps the greater threat of vandalizing artwork or even the potential for embarrassment or less pride in artwork displays for older children.

The classrooms at Pellegrini elementary are fairly standard but attractive rooms. Johnson (1982) comments that divisions of classroom space symbolizes different levels of student status and prestige by age and grade level, as well as the distinction between work, inside the classroom walls, and play, outside the classroom. The most unusual classroom at Pellegrini was the third grade in the upper elementary wing. During the last couple of months of the year the teacher and her husband built large, two-story wood "buildings" in the classroom; a miniature city in which the third graders took various work-related roles.

Organization of the School and School Leadership

At Pellegrini elementary, all of the teachers are directly responsible to the principal; teacher

aides, assigned on the basis of classroom enrollment, report to the teachers they assist as well as to the principal. The remaining staff are responsible to either the principal or assistant principal. When the principal is absent, the assistant principal assumes most of his authority. However, there were indicators that the school counselor holds considerable disciplinary power whether the principal is present or absent.

Teachers often meet in either the teachers' lounge or one another's rooms for lunch. These are places where they informally socialize, usually during the noon hour. I noted a tendency for teachers to meet together by grade level, perhaps the consequence of a common lunch schedule.

Teachers are relatively autonomous and allowed to make most of their own decisions, the principal told me. Three of the five teachers I interviewed at the conclusion of the study confirmed his opinion, while one described him as a "dictator" and another felt considerable freedom until the present year; this latter teacher had recently filed a grievance against the principal because she was asked to teach a different grade level.

Several of the teachers interviewed had a difficult time answering my question on whether Mr. Martin, the principal, was more traditional or progressive. Four of the five said that the principal was traditional, yet three described an openness to innovation that included encouragement to attend workshops and try new ideas in the classroom. One of the teachers interviewed, perhaps the most innovative in the school, particularly emphasized Mr. Martin's support for her efforts. The principal himself said that he was "not purely progressive or traditional, but a touch of both." Although he likes predictability and order, emphasizing that proved practices should be maintained, he said it is important to avoid ruts and affirm changes that make things better.

Mr. Martin, a white male, grew up in Preissleville in a working class family; "We were poor but didn't know it," he commented. He took pride in telling me he never missed a day of school, graduating from the Preissleville high school in 1970. He taught sixth grade for nine years, became an assistant principal for a brief time, and became the principal at Pellegrini when it opened in 1986. In describing his role, Mr. Martin emphasized the need for respect from children and that he was kind to youngsters if they respected him. "The kids seem to like me," he concluded.

The few comments I heard about the principal in my interviews with children were critical, perhaps because the children most likely to interact with him were those who misbehaved. His occasional presence in the hallway was often to correct misbehavior, although he also regularly helped children board the school buses at the end of the school day. Mr. Martin impressed me as a somewhat strict disciplinarian, but I also recall him smiling or patting a child on the back occasionally. Thus his most frequent contacts with children I observed were for disciplinary reasons, boarding the bus, and giving the morning announcements on the intercom. Mr. Martin also commented that he expected the majority of the children in the school to finish high school and another one-fourth to continue on to college.

Asked about his expectations of teachers, Mr. Martin said that they must be professional, although they might engage in some humor with children occasionally. Some teachers, he believed, did not interact sufficiently with the children; he preferred more interaction even if that meant making occasional mistakes.

My relationship with Mr. Martin was always friendly, and my requests were almost always approved. The only time he limited my activities was at the onset of interviews when he said that I should not meet with students individually, apparently because of liability concerns. I initially agreed to this because my research involved group interviews. Later I decided that individual interviews with children would be best for "member checks," providing children with feedback about some of my conclusions to give them an opportunity to correct misconceptions. Mr. Martin and I negotiated the use of a corner of the library open to the public eye yet isolated enough to conduct a fairly confidential interview.

History of the School

Pellegrini elementary, built in 1986, combined the student bodies of two other schools that were overcrowded and in poor condition. Although the combined population of the old schools was about five hundred children, the new school was built to house slightly over six hundred, so additional youngsters were added from the other three overcrowded schools in the county.

Although the Preissleville schools legally desegregated in the late 1960's when separate schools for African American and white children were combined, Pellegrini elementary took

desegregation further by including a large section of Preissleville where nearly all the population was African American. Prior to this combination and elaboration of catchment areas in 1986, only one African American child attended the two schools which Pellegrini Elementary replaced, 0.2% of the student body. The current percentage of African American children in the school is 18%.

Mr. Martin, who has been the principal of Pellegrini elementary since the beginning of the school, told me there were few problems resulting from this blending of ethnic groups in 1986. The only problem openly expressed was dismay at closing the old schools, loved by those who had attended them, and fear that the new school would have no identity. Peshkin (1991, pp. 11-13) similarly speaks of the loss of ethnic identity with school desegregation, while Collins (1978) emphasizes that racial boundaries remain in spite of court-ordered desegregation. The principal of Pellegrini elementary sees no deep-seated racial tension at Pellegrini elementary at present, although an occasional racial slur may be made during a fight.

During the time of this research a proposal was made by the school board to change the catchment area of Pellegrini elementary, ostensibly to decrease the enrollment. The proposed change would move the boundary so that fewer children from the high crime area of Preissleville would attend the school and would also decrease the number of minority students significantly. According to news reports, a number of parents protested the change, noting that the planned transfer of all sixth grades to the middle school the following year would decrease enrollments sufficiently. After several heated meetings between the school board and parents, as well as letters in the local paper, the school board conceded to the parents. The catchment area did not change.

Annual Schedule of Events

The student handbook for the school lists both the general school calendar and the schedule for standardized testing. The days that affected my study included two teacher in-service days, three holidays, and spring break when students were dismissed from class. Because Spring break and the end of the school year may influence the activity level or make some other difference in hallway behavior, I extensively videotaped behavior just prior to the break and again immediately after spring break. The other days off for children only affected the scheduling of research. Three days of teacher postplanning were extended by a day because of schools closing for snow earlier in the year, and I spent several of these postplanning days interviewing the five teachers. The principal was interviewed the day after postplanning.

The Teachers

The principal told me there are about forty certified teachers on the faculty, and fifteen paraprofessionals or teacher assistants. Two teachers and two assistants are African American. The principal mentioned that there had been no African American teachers in either of the two previous schools and that he had considerable difficulty finding teachers of this ethnic category. All of the teachers in the school are female with the exception of two male sixth grade teachers. Most of the faculty are from middle or working class backgrounds, with the majority working their way through college, according to Mr. Martin.

Principal Martin reported a very low turnover rate of teachers at the school; most teachers have between fifteen and twenty years teaching experience. Student-teacher ratios are 20:1 for kindergarten through second grades, and 24:1 for third through fifth grades; these ratios do not include paraprofessionals.

The five teachers interviewed roughly approximated this group. These teachers ranged from 4 to 27 years teaching experience, three describing themselves as middle class and two from poor families. Three grew up in Preissleville, a fourth was reared in southern Georgia, and a fifth came from Ohio.

The five teachers interviewed reflected a mixture of teaching styles. One teacher emphasized the importance of integrating subject areas, many student activities, cooperative learning in small groups, and adaptability to the needs of the specific children in a class. A second said she tried to be an authority without dominating, emphasizing practical, hands-on activities, but also described herself as "laid back," willing to get on the floor and play with youngsters at times. A third teacher similarly said that she took a relaxed approach, tried to individualize instruction, and encouraged children to get information on their own--although she believed she probably "spoon-fed" them too much. A fourth teacher took a very structured approach so that everyone "will know

what will happen," but believed sometimes flexibility was needed and encouraged children to work on their own while she "facilitated." The fifth teacher saw herself as fairly directive, saying that she liked to use humor and sometimes stories with "shock value" in her teaching, but admitting that some children felt her lessons were "sermons." My impression is that the five teachers interviewed reflected the variety of teaching styles used throughout the school. Because of the manner of selecting teachers to interview, one teacher interviewed is perhaps the most authoritarian in the school, another is one of the least controlling of students, while the other three reflect various blends of the two.

In reflecting on the community they serve, one teacher emphasized how much Preissville had changed in recent years, while another believed that many people in the city are very backward and afraid to change. A third teacher believed the city is a safe, nice place to live, and a fourth emphasized the lack of receptivity to outsiders and presence of racism. A fifth teacher, who grew up in a campus community just outside the city, said she believed the community trusted her but that she is not an insider. I believe most of the teachers felt somewhat alienated from the primarily middle to working class community of a small city in a primarily rural region of the Southeast.

When asked about their future expectations of the children in their classrooms, teachers believed that a substantial minority would drop out before graduating from high school--most estimated about 20 to 25%. One-fourth to one-half of the children were predicted to continue beyond a high school diploma. Half or more of the children were expected to enter occupations involving manual labor, the factory jobs that predominated in the community.

Selecting and Describing Participants

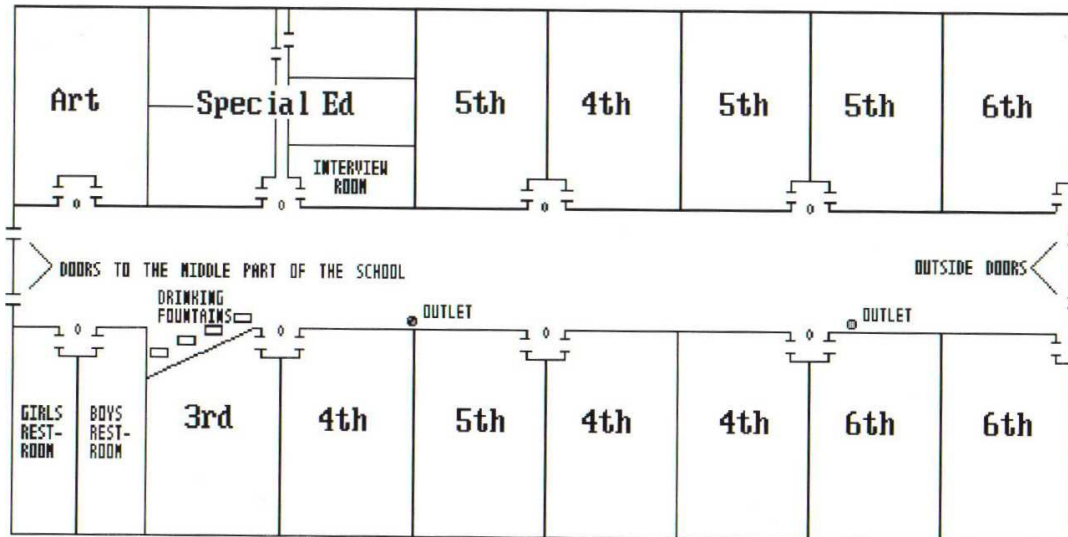
Several methods may be used to select participants in a study. Sampling in educational research often involves the use of probabilistic assumptions, although it is also possible to choose students to compare and contrast differences between classrooms. More typically ethnographic researchers use a dynamic selection process that changes during the research (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 56, 60, 65). A wide variety of criteria have been established for selecting groups or subgroups either before or during research (pp. 69-78), and additional strategies are commonly used later in the research process (pp. 250-253). In examining a wide variety of ethnographic studies prior to my research, I found many different selection strategies, and not all of them fit precisely the criteria listed by LeCompte and Preissle; considerable variation and blending of strategies is commonplace.

Initial Observations

During the initial phases of my study a fairly comprehensive selection of children in the school occurred--virtually every child in the school was at some time of the day in the main hallway examined, the upper elementary wing. Yet, at any given moment far less than the total population was in the hallway. Youngsters with classrooms opening into the hallway were much more likely to be in the hallway. For comparison and contrast, the lower elementary wing was briefly studied later in the study; it was much less likely to have older children; the few observed attended a remedial reading classroom, or went into the hall to pick up younger siblings.

The upper elementary hallway (see Figure Two) was chosen as the primary area to study for several reasons. First, this wing of the school includes a greater amount of activity and a wider variety of behavior than the early elementary wing. This is because most of the classrooms in the wing change at least once an hour

so some of the students in a given classroom can rotate to another classroom; for some subjects students are divided into separate classrooms based on performance level while for other subjects they are not separated. As noted previously, most if not all the children from the lower elementary wing move through this hallway en route from their main classroom to one of the outside buildings for music classes. In addition some lower elementary children enter the area of the hallway that has



restrooms and drinking fountains when they move from recess to other classrooms. Thus all elementary grade levels are represented at some point of every day in the upper elementary wing. A third factor that influenced me to choose the upper elementary wing as the primary research area is that children in later grades tend to respond better to more open-ended interviews (Rich, 1968, pp. 53-54; Yarrow, 1960), which took place later in the study, so from the beginning of the study I thought it better to concentrate on that age level. Fine and Sandstrom (1988, pp. 46-47) also describe the difficulty of determining the meanings of younger children's statements.

By deciding to make the upper elementary hallway the primary area of study, I may have lost some interesting information. It is likely that younger children see hallway events differently from older children. By comparing the oldest and youngest youngsters in the upper elementary hallway, I am able to make some grade and age comparisons, but not to the degree possible if younger children had been included to a greater extent. In addition, most of my observations reflect younger children's behaviors in a context where they are defined as outsiders--little children in the big kids' hall, which may have affected their behavior. My impression from the brief comparisons made in the lower elementary wing do not confirm this expectation, but I may have missed more subtle variations.

Rationale for Interview Groups

One month after beginning the study, I began planning interviews of children. The first major decision was whether to conduct group or individual interviews. I decided to interview groups for most of the research, but to triangulate this method by interviewing children individually during member checks.

I decided to use group interviews because I wanted to create groups of peers, friendship groups to the degree possible, so that interviews would take place within the context of peer culture (Davies, 1982, p. 2). Peer culture is a strong theoretical reference point for my study (see Chapter One), and I desired children's comments about peer culture to be contextualized within that culture. Davies makes a strong case that this approach results in very different information than would comments *about* peer culture when children are in a context separate from that culture, as when only the researcher and child are present. I anticipated that in groups of peers, children would talk not only to me but also to one another, and thus their social world would be reflected more directly in what occurs during the interview, rather than compartmentalized apart from it. I believe this was actualized to some extent in the interviews.

Did I lose data because of this decision? I believe I did. In the individual member checks with children subsequent to group sessions, I found that youngsters made many more comments reflecting on peer culture than occurred in the interview group. This more individualized data at times seemed richer, perhaps because it involved more reflection rather than active participation in

peer culture. On the other hand, these one-to-one interviews lacked the spontaneity and diversity of group interviews, the collective building of viewpoints resulting from multiple perspectives of participants. I also recall times when group interviews were extremely efficient, as some child in a group inevitably had an idea of how to answer most any question I would ask, which often stimulated other children's responses. The loss of reflection was a tradeoff for the positive effects of group interviews.

Determining Grade Levels of Interview Groups

I interviewed children in grade levels three, four, and five. In my initial proposal I planned to include one or two classrooms, but I decided to add a third because I noted differences between grade levels that I thought might be important. These differences included such issues as greater strictness of fifth grade teachers, somewhat more leniency by several fourth grade teachers, and the presence of only one third grade class in the hallway in contrast with three or four classes at every other grade level in the wing. By including at least one class at each of these grade levels, I thought diversity due to grade differences would be increased because of diversity from different teaching styles.

I decided not to include the sixth grades in interviews. Many elementary schools do not have sixth grades; indeed in 1994 all sixth grades in the county are scheduled to move to the middle school. Another factor in this decision was the need to exclude some classes; interviewing three classes would take all my available time. From observations in the hallway, I think the behavior of the sixth graders was significantly different from the other children; perhaps their activities are atypical for elementary children in general. Therefore, it is likely that their perceptions of events would also be less typical of elementary children. I did consider including them, seriously enough to distribute parental permission forms to the classroom of one of the teachers, but only five were returned, four of them from boys and one from a girl whose parents telephoned me to express strong reservations about her involvement. The lack of adequate sample, combined with my other reservations, helped me decide to exclude that grade. However, I did document sixth grade activities in the hallway, and these behaviors often received comment by the children interviewed.

By deciding to interview one section each of third, fourth, and fifth grades, I obviously missed the emic perspectives of younger children and those of the sixth graders. The latter particularly created concern in the midst of the decision--I was torn between the desire to document the views of sixth graders because they are not often part of an elementary school context, versus the need to keep the number of children to be interviewed at a workable level. On the other hand, the perspectives of youngsters about to enter middle school were also available by interviewing fifth graders at Pellegrini because they, too, would move to the middle school the following year. In contrast, I did not feel as torn by the decision to exclude younger children because I realized the need to focus the study on some age range, and several colleagues had assured me that younger children were difficult to interview in the manner I intended.

Choosing Grade Sections

The decision of *which* section of each grade to include in interviews was not considered as important as the previous decisions because, at the fourth and fifth grade levels, all children had all of their grade level teachers at some time during the day. As a result, any child in any section was more likely to have somewhat similar classroom experiences to any other child. For example, any child would be able to comment on any given teacher who might come up in discussion. However, some teacher would need to be contacted so that scheduling could be expedited and parental consent forms distributed and collected. I decided to use the home room class for the teachers chosen. Although the third grade used the block approach in which most children stay with the same teacher all day long, there was only one third grade section in the hallway; thus I selected the one available.

On March 10, I happened to observe Ms. Powell in the hallway, posting student work from her fourth grade classes. I explained that I would be doing interviews with groups of children in the upcoming weeks and asked what teachers she thought might be interested. This might be considered a variation of network selection (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 73-75) with the distinction that the person asked had *not* yet participated in the research and was not directly asked to participate. Ms. Powell expressed considerable interest in my study and mentioned several names

including her own.

At the end of that day I talked with Ms. Deegan, a fifth grade teacher who was a former college student of mine. I again explained my plans for interviews and asked for recommendations of teachers she thought would be interested. She mentioned several and, as with Ms. Powell, offered to participate as well. I also talked with the only third grade teacher in the hallway, Ms. Glynn, and she readily made suggestions for willing teachers and also offered to let me use her class.

Because of their high interest in the project and willingness to participate, I decided to use the Powell and Deegan home room classes as well as the Glynn class. At the teacher's convenience, I briefly spoke with each of the classes involved. I mentioned that I had been videotaping them in the hallway, of which they all seemed aware, and I told them I wanted to show them some of the videotapes and ask them questions about what happened in them. Several children in the classes asked me when the interviews would begin and how long the research would continue. A number expressed interest in participating including several children in classrooms not contacted who expressed dismay that I had not even asked them. Permission slips for the signature of parent or guardian were distributed, and most of the parents who gave permission did so within two weeks of the distribution, when the interviews began, although two additional slips came in within the first week of interviews and these children were added to the groups. Photographs were taken of all children turning in permission forms to aid identification and selection of groups.

All told, 17 of 31 third graders in Ms. Glynn's class obtained permission, 19 of the 25 fourth graders in Ms. Powell's homeroom were given permission, and 17 of the 28 fifth graders in Ms. Deegan's homeroom were allowed to participate. This represents a 63% return rate, consisting of 27 females and 26 males. Teachers designated 10 of the 53 children as African American, 1 as Hispanic, 1 an Asian Indian, and the remaining 41 as white. These ratios of students determined by the return of permission forms are quite similar to the composition of students in the school as a whole and in the population of the Preissleville community in general. However, there were about twice as many males as females among the third graders, the reverse ratio among fourth graders, and fifth graders were evenly split.

The groups formed are considered to be either racially white or blended, several races being included; no all African American groups were formed, even when African American children did the choosing. I decided to designate one group of girls as being exclusively white, even though an Asian Indian girl was a participant. I considered her to be ethnically white because I was impressed that she was rather thoroughly enculturated into the predominant Anglo culture, perhaps because she was from a prominent upper class family. I was impressed by her regular association with and inclusion by white children, as well as lack of dialect or accent. This does not rule out an ethnic identity of which I was unaware, such as an identity expressed outside school. Other observers might find evidence of ethnic distinction that I failed to see. The decision about whether the Hispanic child was white or a minority was irrelevant; there was another child in the group who was African American, thus the group was already multiracial.

Choosing Children for Groups

Earlier in the study I had pondered how many children should be included in each group. My initial impression was that five children would be a reasonable number to include. I contacted one of my committee co-chairpersons about this, and as a result of that discussion decided to let the children who chose the members of groups decide how many to include in the groups. I was pleased that all but one group chose five or fewer, but I wonder if I unconsciously influenced the number chosen perhaps through nonverbal cues.

The first day I selected a fifth grade boy for whom permission had been granted more or less randomly from the group in his class; his name was at the top of the list because his form had been turned in last. I quietly introduced myself to him in the classroom and placed the photographs of the other children with permission forms in front of him. I asked him to choose his friends from the pictures, with no limit to the number of children who could be chosen. He chose all the boys in the class. Because this was too many for a single interview group, I then approached the second child on the list, also a boy, and repeated the procedure. He chose four other boys as his best friends, and this became the first fifth grade group, which met immediately following the selection. Subsequent fifth grade groups were chosen similarly, just prior to their first meeting, using pictures

of the children not yet selected for a group.

Much the same procedure was used for other grade levels, except that I decided to select an African American girl to choose the second group in the fourth grade class because the more or less random selection procedure had failed to produce any minority choosers in the initial selections. The initially selected students had all chosen group members who were white and same sex. I had a hunch that a minority child might choose a more mixed group than would a white child, and this proved to be the case--she chose not only a multiethnic group but also one of the few mixed sex groups. This difference in group membership produced responses divergent from other groups with only one sex and ethnic group represented. I repeated the procedure of having a minority child select members of a group for several other groups.

Although all children were included in at least one group interview session, three children were not asked to attend several of the sessions because of behavior distracting and disruptive to other children and to me. Unknown to me before meeting with them, one of these individuals, a third grade boy, had been previously diagnosed as behavior disordered. The others were third and fourth grade boys. One of the third graders was an African American child. Although the exclusion of these three meant that the emic perspectives of hallway behavior as understood by disruptive children were less represented in the groups, their presence in the groups made the emic perspectives of the other group members less available to the researcher. The difficult choice was made to permit the collection of some data at the cost of excluding other possibly divergent data.

	All Girls Group		All Boys Group		Mixed Sex and Race Group
	WHITE	BLEND	WHITE	BLEND	
Third Grade	First Group		Second Group	Fourth Group	Third Group
Fourth Grade	First Group Third Group			Fourth Group	Second Group
Fifth Grade	Second Group	Fourth Group	First Group	Third Group	

Figure 3. The Twelve Groups

As a result of the selection procedure, the following twelve interview groups were formed. *Third grade*: five white girls (group one), five white boys (group two), two white boys, one African

American boy, and one Hispanic girl (group three), one African American boy and two white boys (group four). *Fourth grade*: four white girls (group one), three African American girls, one white girl, and one white boy (group two), four white girls (group three), two African American boys and four white boys (group four). *Fifth grade*: five white boys (group one), five white girls including the Asian Indian girl (group two), two African American boys and one white boy (group three), three white girls and one African American girl (group four). During the course of the five interviews, one fourth grade girl asked that she be changed to another group, from one all white female group to another all white female group. This request was approved by the receiving group and was granted.

Choosing Member Check Participants

Member checks, as noted previously, are interviews in which the researcher provides tentative conclusions to participants for their affirmation, refutation, elaboration, revision, and other reactions (Lancy, 1993, pp. 243-245; LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 319-320; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 314-316, 373-378). Although member checks can be an ongoing process during data collection, a comprehensive member check is particularly important at or near the conclusion of a study.

In choosing participants for member checks, I used only children who participated in the group sessions. The decision to do comprehensive member checks was made well into the study, and arranging for additional children to do member checks would have required new, revised permission forms passed out to additional children, subsequent to obtaining permission from the university institutional review board. There was insufficient time prior to the conclusion of the study to do this.

I attempted to choose children for member checks who had been verbal in group sessions, but who had not been overly dominant. I attempted to include a fair balance of ethnic groups, grade levels, and genders. These were individual interviews with one exception--I permitted one insistent child to accompany another for one session, but found the results were more like another group session than the desired checking of my conclusions. I was surprised that nearly all of the children studied were anxious to be chosen for member checks; enthusiasm that had waned for group sessions was revitalized by the prospect of individual interviews. The member check involved eleven children, five males and six females, two of whom were African American children, the rest were white.

Five teachers were also interviewed for two hours each, the latter hour involving a member check of conclusions from observations as well as their reactions to some of the ideas children expressed. I interviewed the three homeroom teachers of the groups interviewed, Ms. Powell, Ms. Deegan, and Ms. Glynn. In addition, two other teachers were interviewed because they were mentioned repeatedly by children in the interview groups. One of these teachers was described as very strict and as using sometimes harsh punishment, while the other was considered quite permissive by children. The result of selecting these five teachers was the inclusion of an apparently broad spectrum of teachers from the school, at least in teaching style as perceived by the children I interviewed. By not interviewing all the teachers, or a randomly sampled selection of teachers, representativeness is less likely. Four of the five teachers had their classrooms in the wing where most of this study was conducted; the fifth was a third grade teacher in the early elementary wing. Another teacher, who taught music, asked to be interviewed, and I briefly talked with her in the hallway, but did not include that data in the teacher interview sections.

Conclusion

Entering and describing the site of research is an important yet often overlooked aspect of research. It is particularly important for generalizing the findings of research. Pellegrini elementary represents a blend of ethnic groups and in some ways is similar to both rural and urban schools in the southeastern United States.

The participants in a study may or may not represent the groups from which they are selected. The methods of selection used in this study were based on the desire for diversity and my interest in establishing a context where peer culture could best emerge and be discussed. However, distributions of ethnic groups and sex indicated that these groups to some extent were also representative of other children in the main hallway studied.

CHAPTER IV DATA COLLECTION

Methods of data collection are of two types: interactive and noninteractive (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 158-233). Both varieties were used in my hallway research. Data collection is examined for timing, methods, and how data were recorded; in other words how often data were collected, over what period of time, the specific methods employed, and the means by which data were recorded. By using both interactive and noninteractive methods, a richer database is possible because of the greater variety of constructs resulting from these kinds of data. In addition, interactive and noninteractive methods are sufficiently different from one another that they can be used for triangulation and thus may provide a means of determining internal validity (see Chapter Two).

Duration and Frequency of Data Collection

As noted previously, ethnographic design involves spending an extended amount of time at a research site. Although the early anthropologists spent a year or more in the field, educational ethnographic research often involves less time at the site. The shortest studies I have encountered involved two months (Thompson, 1989; Borman & Lippincott, 1982), while the longest was a four year study (Best, 1983).

I began my observations at Pellegrini elementary on February 8, 1994, and concluded the study with an interview of the principal on June 10, 1994. Videotaping of the hallways took place for 15 weeks of the four months, while interviews with children occurred during the final weeks of school. Interviews of the five teachers and principal occurred during the week after school ended. During this time I also met twice with several members of my committee to update them on my findings and receive advice.

For the first few weeks, I visited the school twice a week, observing for four hours each time. These observations usually took place on Tuesdays and Thursdays because they were the only school days available in my schedule. I balanced afternoons and mornings during the first month of study. Because children were always present when I arrived at 15 to 30 minutes before school began, I came much earlier on one occasion to catch the very beginnings of hallway activity in the morning and found that things began at 6:40. When studying afternoons, I usually left about 3:00, but several times I stayed late to watch the spurts of children leaving for buses. All youngsters were out of the hallway by organizational fiat by 3:30, even if they had to wait in the middle section of the school for a late bus.

During March I substituted several Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays for Tuesdays and Thursdays to determine if there were any weekend effects. There did not appear to be any significant effects of this nature. The last week of March and into April I began observing at key transition times of the day, rather than for blocks of time. Generally these observations took place for a half hour to an hour at a time, but I would often visit the school several times each day for two or three days a week. Again, some varying of day of the week was attempted, although Tuesday and Thursday were still overrepresented. My student assistant, who did some of the videotaping during the last few weeks of the study, entered the setting on a sporadic basis on any day of the week. I was at the school site approximately 120 hours, and my assistant and I recorded approximately 116 hours of videotape. I have approximately 40 hours of interviews on cassette tape.

The half-hour interviews with children took place on every day of the week at times scheduled for teacher convenience. Third-grade group interviews generally took place at approximately 1 PM, when the class either had recess or some other kind of activity period, although this varied as much as a half hour from that time because of variations in the teacher's schedule. Fourth-grade interviews regularly occurred at 2 PM during the physical education period, while fifth-grade groups met at 8:10 AM during the spelling period and part of physical education; Ms. Deegan taught both subjects. There were few complaints about missing these activities, except during the last week of group interviews when softball tournaments between classes took place; because of this, one group session was deferred and another was shortened. I was surprised that

children did not seem to mind missing the physical education period. One explanation is that physical education tended to involve highly structured games sometimes dominated by the teacher; I observed some children apparently bored and uninvolved with these games, preferring to talk at the sidelines.

Noninteractive Methods

Nonparticipant observation is often used in ethnographic research: the observer takes a relatively detached, uninvolved role (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 205). Usually this is not used at the beginning of research, as it was in my study, but later in the study for verification and refinement of conclusions (p. 206). Three noninteractive methods were used in my study. The first was the fairly standard ethnographic procedure of observing the social context and writing notes on what was observed. Second, videotaping was done in a variety of ways for a variety of purposes. Third, photographs were taken and artifacts collected that supplemented the preceding forms of data.

Observing and Writing

For the first two days I simply sat in the hallway and wrote down as much as I could of what I observed. I purposefully attempted not to find certain categories, but rather to record everything I could. This does *not* mean that I was exhaustive or completely objective in what I recorded, but I did attempt to "bracket myself out," suspend my own interpretations and meanings (Hycner, 1985; LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 44-45), to allow the variety of behavior in the hallway to be apprehended. During this brief initial phase I "mapped" the environment by attempting a global analysis (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 84, 113) and literally drew maps of the hallway (Lancy, 1993, p. 241). This phase has also been termed "hanging around" (Pellegrini, in preparation, pp. 123-124) or "shagging around" (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 113-115). Because no prespecified set of sampling rules were used, this might be considered *ad libitum* sampling, particularly valuable at the beginning of a study (Pellegrini, in preparation, p. 154).

The first day I began observing about fifteen minutes prior to the beginning of the school day and finished observing about a half hour after the end of the last class period, taking only three brief breaks. I followed Jackson's (1990, p. xii) example in "making the familiar strange," adopting the position of a foreign outsider that knows nothing about the behavior of people in this environment. The ordinary and familiar are barriers to overcome (p. xiv).

During the two days of initial observing, I changed positions in the hallway numerous times to observe from as many angles as possible. This is a form of triangulation of data such that various physical perspectives can be compared, as well as a means of observing more things in the same site.

After two days of observing I was convinced that I was missing a great deal of information by simply watching and writing. I also noted that by watching in one direction, I missed activity in the other direction. Sometimes I heard noises or other signs of activity in the direction I was not looking, but by the time I turned my head either the activity had ceased or I had missed the genesis of what occurred.

Beginning on the third day of the study, I moved from trying to record everything to a focus on patterns of children's movements in the hallway using *event sampling* (Pellegrini, in preparation, p. 154; Martin & Bateson, 1993, pp. 66, 87). Some of the questions I attempted to address at this time are similar to those asked by ecological psychologists and ethnologists (Lancy, 1993, pp. 118-133), addressing the who, what, where, when, and how of the subject (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 199-200) or the relevant behavior, participants, situation structure, and consequences (Pellegrini, in preparation, p. 255).

Children occasionally took interest in my observations and would try to read the writing on the yellow legal pads I used. I allowed them to look at the notes, but they rarely could make out what was there because of my hurried handwriting. When asked, I told them the gist of what was written, which seemed to satisfy them.

Videotape

To help me gather more plentiful and complete data, I decided to videotape what occurred. Originally I had planned to add the videotape much later in the study, to record activity in the

hallway that could be played back as a stimulus for children's comments during interviews. The decision to videotape early in the study changed the purpose of videotaping; now videotape would become a source of data, not just a stimulus for data from interviews. I also reasoned that people in the hallway would be habituating to my presence for another week or so, and they could also be habituating to the camera at the same time. There was also a distinctive ebb and flow to activity in the hallway, and working with and thinking about the camera would give me more to do during the times when the hallway was empty.

In the hallway, the camera was mounted on a tripod varied in height to observe the slight differences this produced. I also set the camera so that the date and time would be displayed on the screen, to give a clear reference point for the data. Although I was fairly well acquainted with how to use the camera, I realized early on the first day that the time on the screen was incorrect and could not be readjusted without pausing the videotape, so I made note of the discrepancy and changed the time when changing the videotape. During moments of low activity I generally watched in the opposite direction from the angle of the camera so that a more complete record of what happened was possible. However, when nothing was happening in the direction I was looking, I often glanced toward the angle the camera faced and sometimes recorded data from that position.

I changed the location of camera and tripod every two hours during the initial weeks of filming. Although I desired this variation, I was somewhat limited in the locations possible for two of the four hours filmed each day. This was because I had only one battery for the camera, with a charge life of two hours, thus the other two hours required that I use an electrical outlet in the hallway. There were only two outlets (see Figure Two), but fortunately they were in very different locations, so some variation was possible in the two-hour blocks. For the other two hours of the day I moved the camera to as many different locations as was possible without seriously disrupting hallway activity. However for each two-hour segment, I did not change the camera position or angle because I wanted to get sustained views of the activity in the area observed by the camera. I also varied whether the two-hour block using the battery was first or second, and I maintained the variation between observing four hours in the morning or four hours in the afternoon; actually these four-hour periods overlapped, the first extending from about 7:30 to 11:30, and the second from about 11:00 to 3:00. I always left the zoom untouched while filming during the early weeks of the study, keeping it zoomed out so I could observe a maximal area of the hallway and thus capture the maximum of behavior variety. I used my notetaking partially to replicate the video record, to supplement contextual details, and to provide information about activities in other directions.

By early March, I found one location that yielded more diverse data than any other: the entryway to the special education classrooms. The data were especially diverse because from that location I obtained a clear view of the doors to the middle section of the building as well as four drinking fountains and the doors to both rest rooms. By pointing the camera in the opposite direction, I had a clear view of the rest of the hallway and could zoom in to obtain good pictures of nearly any location in the hallway, although the clearest shots were classrooms on the opposite side of the hallway. Another advantage of this location was that one of the small classrooms opening into the entryway was seldom used, so I could position the camera within the entryway and thus out of the pathway of students. Finally, there was an electrical plug in the classroom that could be used with an extension cord.

Thereafter I regularly used this location for videotaping, although I continued to vary the direction of the camera and occasionally moved the camera to another location to obtain a varying perspective. However, this entryway became my primary location as well as that of my undergraduate assistant later in the study, and many of the group interviews took place in the classroom that opened into the entryway.

During the first month of the study, I found children often reacted to the camera's presence by making faces, dancing in front of it, or placing their hands in front of the lens as they passed by. Most of this reactivity was brief, a second or two as a child passed the camera, although common--dozens of times a day during the first weeks. All in all the percentage of time when other normal hallway activity was obscured was minimal. This reactivity became more likely when a child's friends were nearby but was less common when a child was not with peers. I realized after the study was completed that these reactive expressions may have been partly an expression of peer culture, but a colleague of mine who teaches television broadcasting tells me that cameras

sometimes produce the same effect with adults. This reactivity represents a change in the environment made by the camera, but it was often isolated and did not appear to affect most of the behavior in the hallway. At the conclusion of the study, all of the teachers and children interviewed in the

member check said that general hallway behavior was unaffected by the camera after the first week or two of the study. However, several children mentioned these reactive effects of the camera, but concluded that this did not affect other hallway behavior.

I grew tired of the regular reactive responses, even though they rarely interfered with hallway behavior observations. I also grew tired of the stationary position and being ignored, so--following the earlier suggestion of one of my committee members--I proclaimed a personal holiday of sorts, what I called in my notes reactivity day. I purposefully maximized camera reactivity with the overt purposes of habituating children to the camera and perhaps thereafter decreasing these reactive influences. I borrowed a computer screen and connected it to the videocamera, positioning it so it could be clearly seen by students in the hallway. I encouraged children to look at themselves in the screen, again attempting to maximize reactivity. The result was, indeed, extremely high reactivity with one or more children regularly performing for the camera and others clustered around the screen watching the antics. It was a fun day for both the children and me, but the predicted decrease in reactivity afterward did not occur. I did not use the screen after reactivity day, but youngsters still occasionally placed their hands in front of the camera or acted silly in front of it.

The reactivity day had one significant effect, not on the children but on me. During the reactivity day I changed the angle of the camera regularly to purposefully encourage children to perform. I came to realize that by changing the angle of the camera, I could follow the continuous flow of a given behavior pattern better than with a stationary placement. Realizing that I had several weeks of data from stationary placements, I felt comfortable that I had observed a cross section of the activity patterns that occurred. On March 14, I regularly began changing the angles and using the zoom lens to follow specific patterns of behavior. On March 16 I carried the camera on my shoulder throughout the hallway to obtain the best angles possible to record data.

Over the early weeks I had discovered time-oriented patterns in the ebb and flow of hallway activity and came to designate periods of high activity as a transition window. I began thinking about changing the schedule of observations to maximize my time observing during these transition windows so that the time observing would result in maximum acquisition of data (see Chapter Five for the evolution of the concept transition window).

I also realized that I was not recording as much information as I desired by writing notes on legal pads of paper. A member of my committee had earlier suggested that I might use a tape recorder to verbalize comments rather than write them on paper. There are advantages to each approach--writing on paper allows more reflection during the recording of data, but it usually results in loss of observation while writing. I did not initially use tape recording of my comments for fear that my talking, even quietly, might disturb the environment and produce reactive effects. However, by this point, I decided that some reactivity to the camera was inevitable, and that it did not seem to be affecting most of behavior observed. So I decided to push the possibility of reactivity further by verbalizing my observations rather than writing them down.

To accomplish this, I obtained a microphone that could be connected to the camcorder so that my mouth was next to it, rather than use the standard camcorder microphone that is pointed away from the photographer. I wanted to be able to talk very quietly and yet clearly record the verbal content on the videotape. I considered adding a tape recorder, but carrying around another mechanical device seemed too cumbersome. After talking with my colleague who teaches television, we decided on a battery-operated miniature microphone that could be attached to the camera viewfinder and clearly record even whispered comments. Although I assumed that this would result in loss of other auditory data from the hallway, on playback I found this was not the case because of a built-in compression circuit that automatically increased the sound level when I was not speaking. I also added a small earphone to be certain the microphone was working.

On March 22 I began carrying the camera around and talking quietly into the microphone, describing what I observed. Understandably, there were sometimes changes in behavior when children realized I was pointing the camera in their position, but I found these could be minimized by keeping a distance and using the zoom lens. Several children also commented on my quiet talking, asking me if I was talking to myself. I told them that I was saying what I used to write

down on the pads of paper, and that seemed to satisfy them that I was fairly sane.

By this point, three stable patterns of children's movements had emerged; I had seen two of these prior to this study, but had not identified the third. These three patterns became the framework for collecting data more selectively, a process termed theoretical sampling (see Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. 45-77 for a description of this approach, and Corsaro, 1981 as an example). The three social forms, lines, phalanxes, and clusters, were each selectively followed by the camera and researcher as they were noticed. The priority was following the less frequent clusters, then phalanxes, and finally lines.

During the next phase of the study, the group interviews of children, I had little time for videotaping. About this time a female undergraduate volunteered to help videotape as part of an independent study. I gave her instructions to videotape other hallways of the school for comparison, as well as record regularly the behavior of the main hallway studied. I encouraged her to do most of the videotaping from the special education entryway, but also to vary the location in the hallway from time to time. At first I encouraged her to observe passively in one direction or the other, as I had done at the beginning of the study; then later I asked her to direct the camera at the three homeroom classes I was interviewing so I could use that data in the interviews. I was pleased with the results provided by my assistant's work, although her lack of acquaintance with the videocamera resulted in a few minor difficulties. Considering that I could not have done any videotaping because of lack of time, the assistant's help was invaluable. Her involvement also provided another source of triangulation; multiple camera operators. However, the data she obtained did not appear to be noticeably different from my own. She continued videotaping through the end of the school year.

During the last session of the group interviews I positioned the camera so that it would record those interviews. The camera was turned on prior to the children entering the room for the interview so that it would be recorded in its entirety. This was so I could have a visual record of the interview to see possibly latent influences that I exerted during interviews on children's comments. I also desired to observe body language of youngsters that might give clues to meanings of statements.

This final session of interviews ended with yet another use of the videocamera. For a few minutes I had the children go into the hallway and interview one another. The youngsters took turns being the interviewer; each could select any hallway and any location in a hallway in which to conduct the interview and could ask any questions. This game, which most of the children appeared to enjoy thoroughly, was one additional way of eliciting an emic perspective from the children. My questions had imposed some of my constructs and ideas on the children, although I attempted to keep them fairly open-ended. These spontaneous peer interviews, in contrast, involved peer-initiated questions. A second purpose of these peer interviews was to contextualize comments; children talked about the hallway *in that hallway*; consequently they might recall more and provide a more direct perspective on that context. Third, I was curious to observe if children had picked up enough information about how to conduct an interview to do it themselves. Finally, this activity was a rewarding form of entertainment for youngsters, most of whom had participated in three previous interviews; it was fun.

My initial analysis of these peer interviews indicated that the data obtained were not very helpful; the kids tended to ask questions that called only for yes and no responses or that were conversely so vague and open-ended that the peer had no idea how to answer. However it is possible that future microanalysis may reveal more latent issues. What was most interesting to me as a researcher was that most of the children wanted to do their interviews in the lower elementary wing, not their own hallway. Several children and teachers suggested during the member check that this was probably because they wanted to avoid the embarrassment of doing interviews in front of other peers, although several youngsters also mentioned positive feelings about their earlier years of schooling in that hallway.

Photographs and Artifacts

I took a number of still photographs during the four months at Pellegrini elementary, attempting to record the basic social formations in the hallway. These were somewhat successful, although a clear picture of a cluster grouping was not obtained other than on videotape. Photographs were also taken of the children who participated in the study to aid my assistant in locating the classes studied as well as jog my memory of students' names during interviews.

Pictures were also taken of signs in the hallways for possible future analysis.

Artifacts include a wide variety of physical objects and written documents that are studied (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 216). The few artifacts used in this study served to supplement other data sources. These included the Pellegrini elementary student handbook and a yearbook containing pictures of all of the children in the school. The handbook was given to me by the principal, while I purchased the yearbook for a nominal charge. These were used to help identify children and orient to the school. The principal also provided me with an architectural diagram of the school, although I found it to be inaccurate in several respects. Finally, the Preissleville Chamber of Commerce provided documents of various statistical data about the community, used in describing the setting.

Interactive Methods

Two common forms of interactive methods used in ethnographic research are participant observation and interviews. I was a participant of sorts by observing in the hallways, I *was* in the hallway, but I was not really taking a student role and not a participant at this time in either the classroom culture or peer culture.

Later in the study, however, I interviewed children in groups. I used a standard protocol of questions (see Appendix A), taken from my earlier observations in the hallway as well as from questions raised prior to beginning the study. However, I sometimes changed the order of questions when responses of children more naturally led in that direction. There were also times when new questions emerged in a session because of children's responses, and these were sometimes added to the protocols for other groups as well. Most of the questions were open-ended so that children could move in a variety of directions in their responses. A fairly common probe I used was, "Tell me more about that." However, some questions were more factual, such as listing the names of the most popular children in the class; such questions often involved interstudent negotiation or alternative responses when negotiation failed to produce consensus.

These interviews sought to obtain the children's emic perspective of hallway events. Sometimes they would make comments about classroom, home, or outside activities, which I allowed for a few moments, but I attempted to guide them back to talking about the hallway. This was usually, but not always, successful. I sometimes repeated or rephrased questions to help children better understand what was being asked. On several occasions, at the end of the half hour participants begged to have a longer interview.

Interview Spaces

Group interviews with students took place in one of three places: a small special education classroom occasionally used by teachers of mentally disabled children and a school psychologist for testing. When that room was not available, interviews were conducted in a section of the library surrounded by thin, movable partitions. Because this second area was often used by speech therapists, a third alternative was a storage room that had no furniture and required that students and researcher sit on the floor surrounded by snack foods, large boxes, and school supplies. After this room had been used several times, an enterprising child located a couple of small plastic chairs that some of the youngsters used; occasionally a child sat on a box, but I always sat on the floor. All but one of the group interviews took place in either the classroom or the storage room. Individual student interviews took place in an open area of the library, interviews with teachers took place in their respective classrooms, and the interview with the principal was in his office.

Note that the rationale for using group interviews rather than individual interviews was considered in Chapter Three. In addition the specific manner in which these interview groups were formed is also recorded in that chapter.

First Session

In the initial interview I introduced myself and explained my purpose as writing a book about school hallways and their views of that context. I emphasized that I thought children were not always understood very well by adults and that I wanted to find out how they really thought and felt about things. I assured them I would not tell the principal or teachers what any individual child said and would change their names in the book so they would not get into trouble. I also explained that I was using a cassette recorder so I could better hear everything and would not play the tape for

teachers or principal.

Several children wanted their real names to be used in the book. I emphasized that if I did that, people would know who said what and they could get into trouble as a result. This seemed to satisfy most but not all of the recognition-hungry youngsters (Goetz, 1975, p. 307, describes similar desire for recognition from the children she studied; she concluded that they saw inclusion in research as a compliment, not as privacy invasion). A few children wanted to know the name of the book and how much it would cost. I told them I did not know. All seemed to be interested in sharing their viewpoints to this unusually interested adult.

After the introductory comments I asked the children to brainstorm about all the things they had ever seen occur in the hallway. I asked them to tell me what the events meant to them and how they felt about them. I also attempted to discover the purposes of those activities. Most of the children floundered at describing the meanings of events and their feelings, with questions about meanings usually being ignored and the probe for feelings answered with one or two word responses. Reflecting back now, I realize that I was asking this question too early for children to understand adequately what I wanted. In later sessions a few children appeared to understand direct questions about meanings and provided helpful information.

I also attempted to get at meanings of hallway events by asking about the rules of the hall, including line rules, and why they thought those rules existed. I asked what rules they believed should be followed all the time, what rules could be broken sometimes, and when they could be broken--for example, when a teacher was not in the hall. I asked what rules they did not like and why, as well as what grades they thought broke hallway rules the most. These questions took a large proportion of the half hour in most groups.

Several questions focused on teacher control and monitoring in the hallway. I asked them to tell me how teachers controlled children and if girls' or boys' misbehavior was more likely to be ignored. This was the only question to which there was unanimous agreement across all groups--both girls and boys agreed that teachers ignore the misbehavior of girls to a greater extent, although children gave many different reasons for why this occurs.

I asked them to create a dominance hierarchy of kids in their homeroom--for example, "Who's the toughest in your room? Next toughest?" This question may have produced something other than strict hierarchy, as British preschool children associate being tough with aggressive activities rather than general dominance (Sluckin, 1980; Sluckin & Smith, 1977). My immediate concern was to determine if a "toughness" hierarchy had any effects on hallway positioning or activity, as well as whether toughness related to other kinds of hierarchy such as popularity. Unfortunately this issue could not be assessed because there was almost no consistency across groups in opinions regarding who was "toughest," popularity hierarchies, or even what positions in social formations are preferred. Perhaps this lack of uniformity was because I asked for a group decision rather individual responses as in Sluckin's studies. Finally I asked them what the most important thing was that was said by the group and informed them that I would show a videotape during the next meeting.

Second Session

The second session for each group took place a little less than a week later. I began the interview by asking if there were any other things that happen in hallways that they had not told me the week before. Again I emphasized that their views were very important and a major part of the book I would write, so it was important for me to understand their ideas correctly.

Following the introduction I played a one to three minute portion of a videotape taken in the hallway that portrayed lining behavior. For nearly all of the groups I included a segment of tape that pictured most, and usually all, of the interview group members in a classroom line. For one group, however, I was unable to locate a tape segment with group members in line, although others from their class were pictured. Each interview group also observed at least one and sometimes more lines of children from other grade levels. I asked the children to tell me what was happening in the videotape and the reasons for, or goals of what they observed. Although youngsters sometimes attempted to give such descriptions, more often they simply called out the names of peers and themselves when they came into view.



At the end of the videotape segment, I attempted to get at the meaning of the line formation by asking them if they liked being in line, whom they would and would not want to be next to in line, the feelings they have in line, preferred position in line, and changes in lines when teachers are present versus absent. On the basis of children's responses, I added an additional question for some groups, asking if preferences would change depending on destination. I also asked them to brainstorm about all the different things that can happen in line. The latter question, which produced not only lists but sometimes commentary on events, usually took a large portion of the interview.

During the concluding moments of the session I asked if they believed the lines observed were normal or unusual and why and requested that they summarize the most important things said during the session and why they thought those things were important. I asked the group questions from which I attempted to create a hierarchical listing of children by popularity. This was accomplished by asking, "Who would you like to be next to in line?," and since this usually produced preferences for children of the same sex, I later asked a question that reflected the popularity of members of the opposite sex, "Who are the most popular kids of the opposite sex?" I also attempted to find any *personal* preference for members of the opposite sex by asking, for example to girls: "If you had a party and invited five boys, who would they be?" The purpose was to determine if either general popularity or individual preference for a person of the opposite sex affected hallway behavior. As in the interviews about lines, there was very little consistency in different groups' estimation of specific children's popularity within the homeroom, and there was no general preference for certain positions in social groupings, which was the aspect of hallway behavior chosen to relate to hierarchy. After interviewing several groups, I added an additional question at this point for the remaining groups, "What does the hallway mean to you?" This time several children provided responses that were informative. I usually ended the session by telling the students we would be looking at some other videotapes the next week.

Third Session

The third time each group met I again reminded the participants that what they said was very important and I was anxious to understand their ideas. I also asked if there was anything they wanted to add or correct from the previous meeting. This probe rarely produced any responses, but it was included partly to underscore the importance I conferred to their thoughts.

I then showed a brief videotape segment of children in the hallway walking side by side, but I did not use the technical term phalanx. I asked them to tell me what was happening and the purposes or reasons for what occurred. I attempted to use a segment including several phalanxes of children from the homeroom class of whom the group was a part. Again, most of the comments made during the video involved naming the people on the screen, but I occasionally probed about what was occurring and a few children gave brief descriptions.



At the end of the tape segment, I asked if they had a name for the rows of people, emphasizing that the row was when people were side by side in contrast with a line where they were in front of one another; occasionally a child would confuse the two social formations. Few children made any suggestion for a designation for the grouping, but one group of girls created a distinctive phrase that they used throughout the remainder of the session and the final interview as well: "buddy talking," also designated "B.T." for short. In the other groups where no suggestions were given for the social formation, or the group did not come to a consensus on a term or phrase, I suggested that they be called rows, to which the youngsters readily agreed.

I asked the children if they would rather be in a row--B.T.--or not while in the hallway and why. I also requested them to tell how they felt in a row, their preferred position in the row, their preferred people in a row, how rows might change if a teacher was nearby, and the varying effects of different teachers.

A large proportion of the time in this session was spent discussing all the possible things that could happen in a row. These were listed, and occasionally I asked how they felt about those different events. Many of the things listed by children were very similar to their responses to the questions in the first and second sessions about what happened in the hallway generally and when they were in lines. Perhaps some of the children did not understand that I was probing for events specific to the row formation, and more direct probes to that effect did not appear to affect responses.

After considerable discussion, I then asked if the rows seen on the tape were normal or unusual and why; this was an attempt to discover if hallway behavior changed because of the presence of the camera and operator. Then I asked what rows in the hallway meant to the children and how they thought about them. I concluded several of the groups by asking what the most important statement was during the session and why; this question sometimes seemed to elicit issues the children thought I would believe was most important. For a few of the later groups interviewed I added a very open-ended question, "Is there anything else you want to talk about?" This was added because I sensed that some of the children were getting a bit bored with the interview.

Fourth Session

Because of my concern about the children becoming bored, I believed some changes needed to be made in the process. Originally I had intended to hold six or seven half-hour sessions with the children, but only two weeks remained in the school year and I wanted to reserve the final week for individual member checks. I had planned to spend the fourth week discussing the circular and semicircular groupings in the hallway I termed clusters, the fifth week I would have the groups discuss crowds in the hallway, and the sixth week we would consider individuals in the hallway. However, my ongoing data analysis was indicating that crowds in this hallway were made up of various combinations of lines, phalanxes, clusters, and individuals; thus I felt comfortable excluding part of the session on crowds. In addition, earlier in the study I had decided that my basic unit of study was the group, not the individual, thus allowing the session on individual movements to be excluded. As a result the fourth session became the final interview for the groups, although individual member checks took place the following week.

In previous sessions I had used a different segment of tape for each age group, one in which their classroom was a part, but which often included another classroom as well. This time I edited one tape that all groups would view that included cluster formations involving several

children from each of the three classrooms studied. I created this edited tape because clusters are the rarest of the three social forms studied and often tend to be rather brief, so an edited tape with several examples would be needed for the children to observe the social form clearly. In addition, I thought it might be helpful for all of the children to observe the same tape so I could make cross-grade comparisons of their responses.

As noted previously, the camcorder was set up and taping when the children entered the interview room for the fourth session, a fact that several children noticed but apparently quickly forgot. I began the session by asking if the children had anything to add or correct from the previous session. I then showed the edited video, which was about three minutes long, and asked participants to describe what was happening and the reasons or purposes of the events.

After the videotape ended, I asked if the "groups" (my designation for clusters) seen on the videotape were similar or different from what was observed during the previous session and why they were similar or different. Interestingly, in the group that had called phalanxes "buddy talking," one or more immediately said the clusters were also buddy talking. This was significant, I think, as other interview groups also emphasized that the differences between phalanxes and clusters were only superficial: the varying physical appearance and the mobility of the phalanx, but otherwise the two social formations were identical. I asked if the youngsters would rather or not be in such a group in the hallway, as well as their feelings when in such a group. I probed on what it was like to be in such a group and what the group meant to them. I also inquired about the differences in such groups when teachers were present or absent from the hallway and had the children brainstorm all the possible things that could happen in a cluster. Finally I asked if the clusters observed were normal or unusual and why.



If there was sufficient time remaining, I asked the children to discuss the differences and similarities between a cluster and a crowd, as well as discuss what it is like to be in a crowd and what crowds mean to them. Finally I asked what they believed was the most important thing said during the session.

The last ten minutes or so of the half hour was spent with the children conducting interviews with one another in the hallway, as described previously. I found that sometimes the word got around that they would be interviewing one another in the hall, thus a couple of the groups tended to push me to finish my part of the interview so they could begin their own interviewing in the hallway. However, a couple of the latter groups did not apparently hear of the peer interviews and were still surprised by the addition.

Child Member Checks

I have already discussed how children were selected for member checks, as well as the basic purpose of this interview. Children were interviewed individually in an open corner of the library for this session, with the cassette recorder on a table beside the child or on a cushion of the couch next to the child.

I began the member check by asking if there were other things that happened in the hallway they had not mentioned in the group sessions. I also asked if they wished they had said anything differently. Then I said word for word or nearly so, "I'm going to tell you about some of the things I've seen and heard over the last few weeks. People don't always see things the same way, so I want you to disagree with me all you want to. So when I ask you if you think of it this way, tell me if I'm

wrong or don't have it quite right. Make it clearer for me. OK?"

After describing several tentative hypotheses and asking for reactions, I asked the child what was the most important thing she or he had said thus far, then what the most important thing was that *I* had said. I also asked if they believed they or their friends had changed their actions in the hallway because of the groups they participated in. I also asked if my being in the hall, my assistant being in the school, or the videocamera had made a difference. If children responded affirmatively to any of these, I asked if they could give examples of those differences. This proved to be an important follow up, as most of the changes described had to do with the antics in front of the camera, *not* with hallway behavior in general. I concluded the interview by asking who they thought I was most like: a friend, a teacher, or someone else. I also asked several of the children why they felt that way. I then asked if they had anything else they wanted to tell me and thanked them for participating.

Teacher Interviews

As noted previously, five teachers were interviewed individually for a two hour session during the week after classes ended for the year. These interviews were made up of three sections: the first was comprised of questions similar to those asked of the children in the four group sessions. I asked these to triangulate the data

sources--children versus teachers, in addition to triangulating different children's responses with one another.

I then asked questions to obtain various factual details about the children in their homeroom who were in my study, a question about the teacher's teaching experience and family background, questions about their teaching style and career expectations for the children in their classroom, and their analysis of the leadership of the school. I asked if they thought things in the hallway had changed because of my presence, my assistant, or the camera. All of the teachers said the hallway generally had not changed, although one thought there might have been some effects during the first week or two of the study. I concluded this second section by asking how they perceived my role at the school and what, if anything, teachers had said about me.

The third segment of the interview involved my sharing several tentative hypotheses with teachers and asking for their reactions. I emphasized that these were only preliminary ideas and that they should correct any misunderstandings I had. This portion of the interview was somewhat of a member check but also a means of triangulating, as I encouraged the teachers to describe in detail why they disagreed or agreed with a conclusion. I also asked several other questions to obtain further information about their statements.

Principal Interview

The day after teachers were excused for the summer, I interviewed the principal. This interview lasted about an hour and a half. I asked him about the views of education of citizens in the community, the community's and his expectations for the children, details about the school system, and the organization of the school. I asked him to describe the history of the school and how he characterized his own leadership, and I asked questions about the teachers and students in the school. Finally I shared with him some of the tentative hypotheses I had earlier shared with the teachers.

Recording Data

As noted in the previous section I recorded data using legal pads, videotape, and cassette recordings. In this section I provide more detail about the specific procedures, particularly the initial forms of written data.

I took four different kinds of observation notes on the legal pads, set off from one another by abbreviations. The four designations are taken from Corsaro (1981), which he adapted from Anselm Strauss: *field notes*, including descriptions of events, interviews, and quotations from children and teachers; *personal notes*, marking personal reactions to events; *methodological notes*, including comments on events and reflections that have methodological implications; and *theoretical notes*, relating to categories and emergent hypotheses. These notes were then typed into my computer, generally within a day or two of the observation, using separate files for each day's notes and for each of the four varieties of notes. Sometimes I added details while typing that I had

forgotten to include in the handwritten comments, and of course I did a bit of editing as well.

I found these four categories to be useful for the notes taken, although for a brief time I did not add materials to the personal notes section because often this section overlapped with theoretical or methodological categories. I also found that some notes fit more than one category, an aspect even more obvious when reading over the typed notes after entry. The four categories were particularly helpful in writing up the research results: the methodological notes helped in writing this chapter, while the theoretical notes helped direct me in other sections.

Notes from interviews were treated somewhat differently. I made some theoretical and methodological notes after interviews from time to time. However, the handwritten notes from interviews were typed so that all of the different groups' responses to each question could be placed side by side for comparison and analysis.

Videotaped data were recorded on a standard home camcorder with tripod, using extra high quality videotapes, as is generally required for camcorder use. In contrast, standard quality name brand cassettes were used with the professional quality tape recorder, customarily used by radio stations for interviews. Videotapes and cassette tapes were consulted when clarification, counting, or verification were needed. All tapes have been archived for future transcription and analysis.

Conclusion

Using a variety of methods in research helps produce a more complete record of the events recorded. Different methods provide different data to be compared and contrasted or triangulated. As a result, my recreation of what was experienced is more likely to resemble what actually occurred, an important prerequisite to data analysis.

CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS AND EXAMPLES

In qualitative research, the analysis of data is complex because of the complexity of the data themselves; unlike enumerative data, verbal units of meaning--both emic and etic--are difficult to combine and weigh for significance. In addition, qualitative analysis of data begins from the first moments of a research study and continues throughout collecting data (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 238). Initial questions are refined and refocused throughout the study (Pellegrini, in preparation, p. 117). Although I describe several of the methods of analysis used in this study in separate sections to promote conceptual clarity, in practice the analytic processes often overlapped and blended together.

Forming Categories

Some of the categories used in data analysis were brought to the research, being derived from a broad search of related research and theory, preliminary and often more casual observation at two other elementary schools during the months prior to this study, and my earlier experiences. However, categories were also developed and adapted to explain observed phenomena not previously identified. I pose original, borrowed, or adapted categories that I think best represent what I observed.

The formation of innovative categories depended on a number of analytic methods, one of which is the constant comparison analytic process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987). This approach emphasizes interpretations that constantly evolve throughout the collection of data, the need for numerous concepts and a variety of linkages among concepts, and examining data in intensive detail (Strauss, 1987, p. 10). The goal of the process is creating theory grounded in the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This begins with seeking indicators of categories in actions and events in a document, such as field notes, then naming those indicators by coding them. Coding involves asking questions of data, perhaps most fundamentally, "What is this an example of?" Subsequently these codes and the associated data in the document are compared to discover consistencies of meaning and distinctions between different codings. When consistency is found, the result is a coding *category*, which becomes more precise by making additional comparisons with other data from the site. The researcher constantly creates memos in this process of comparisons, to record the process of category development. This continues until forthcoming data no longer modify the conceptualization, and thus the category is saturated (Strauss, 1987, p. 25; Lancy, 1993, p. 16).

Later in constant comparison, certain categories become central to the ongoing analysis; these are "axial categories" (Strauss, 1987, pp. 64-68). Still later these axial categories become the focus for selective coding, and eventually a "core" category emerges that relates the other categories and is central to the developing theory. The strategies of discovering categories described by constant comparison were used in my research, while the later processes of the analysis are perhaps better explained by other analytic approaches; I did not consciously seek axial and core categories, preferring to analyze the setting using multiple and not always related categories.

Pellegrini (in preparation, pp. 119-123) describes three levels or types of categories: physical, consequential, and relational. *Physical* categories are descriptions of physical patterns grouped by co-occurrence either by time or place, such as lining that often occurs when whole classes move through hallways. This kind of category fits well with Hall's theory of proxemic space and events, described in Chapter One. *Consequential* categories are the results or outcomes of activities and imply intention or motivation. The function of given events is central to category development (Pellegrini, 1989b), and understanding the functional relevance of events is central to gaining an emic perspective (Hymes, 1980, p. 93). For example, children may ask to go to the restroom when the actual consequence of that request is the meeting of friends in the hallway; this implies that seeking peer interaction in a less structured context motivated the fabricated request. This fits both Hall's theory and symbolic interactionist theory, as the consequences can be physically observed, while the inferred meaning of the consequence implies an interactional process. Third,

Pellegrini suggests *relational* categories that describe with whom and where people interact, such as the locations, number, and identity of peers selected when children gather in clusters in the hallway. Again, both Hall's theory and symbolic interactionism can be helpful theoretical perspectives by which relational categories can be interpreted, because Hall's theory helps in locating the external aspects of relationships, including the what and how aspects described by Pellegrini, and symbolic interaction helps in discovering the internal aspects of relationships, the conferred meaning of relationships to participants.

Physical descriptions may be cumbersome because of the immense amount of detail, and thus broader patterns may be missed, while consequential descriptions require more inference and thus are more subject to bias (Pellegrini, in preparation, pp. 120-121). Relational categories, as described by Pellegrini, similarly require relational inferences from the presence of indicators often physical in nature. These include interactional content, diversity, power and control, quality, frequency and patterning, multidimensionality, perspective, and penetration (Hinde, 1976). As noted, all three kinds of categories suggested by Pellegrini are found in school hallways.

In addition to Pellegrini's categories, four other sources significantly influenced my development of categories. LeCompte and Preissle (1993, pp. 240-249) suggest four steps in theorizing and discovering categories: 1) perceiving with "studied naivete," 2) contrasting, comparing, ordering, and aggregating by massing and scanning data, 3) finding relationships and linkages between data, and 4) speculating. These four steps combine aspects of constant comparison and other analytic procedures to be considered later in this section.

Tesch (1990, pp. 142-145), in her book about qualitative data analysis using computer programs, recommends an eight step procedure for developing categories. These include 1) reading observation notes, writing ideas as they come to mind, and attempting to obtain a sense of wholeness; 2) marking topics in the margins of observation notes; 3) noting similar topics and clustering them; 4) organizing topics into a preliminary category system, continuing to write memos on the data, and trying out the categories on additional data; 5) refining the system by using descriptive wording and determining what categories are most important and which are subcategories; 6) abbreviating each category and coding observation notes; 7) conducting preliminary analysis on all notes within a particular coding, summarizing that content, and emphasizing common features, distinctives, contradictions, confusions, and missing data; and 8) recoding data if need be, as the system of categorization is applied to additional data sets and categories become concepts. Tesch's approach also can be understood as a blending and elaboration of other categorization processes described in this section.

Erickson (1992), in a chapter on qualitative data analysis of videotapes, suggests a somewhat similar approach to studying one kind of category, the event. His five steps include 1) review the entire event without pausing the tape; 2) identify the boundaries of an event by replaying segments several times; 3) replay tape as needed to determine how aspects of the event are organized, often determined by nonverbal actions such as nodding and changes in gaze; 4) observe actions of individuals and transcribe relevant behavior from tape; and 5) compare observed activities with previously observed activities to determine if they are representative or atypical, emphasizing key contrasts, frequencies, discrepancies, analogical activities, and functional relationships between events. Although I did not use Erickson's strategies extensively in this analysis of my videotaped data, his fifth point was crucial in my category development, and it overlaps considerably with others cited in this section.

Category development in Herrera's (1988, pp. 77-82) study of *middle school* hallways also influenced the creation of categories in my study. He notes that these steps were retrospective descriptions; the phases emerged throughout research rather than prescribed prior to the study. The steps included 1) reviewing some field notes; 2) focusing on an interaction event; 3) describing the event's characteristics such as level, setting, order, consistency; 4) defining the type of event; 5) stating relationships between types of events; 6) stating types of relationships that exist; 7) noting sequences; and 8) emergence of patterns. Patterns were later crystallized into researchable questions, the final product of his study.

Several themes found in the preceding sources were particularly important in developing categories in my research. First, categories can emerge by linking events that co-occur or are consequent or antecedent to others. Conversely, categories may relate conceptually similar events, such as physical or relational aspects of the situation. Second, details are more likely to make sense

by initially concentrating on the whole of the event or on macro-levels rather than details. Third, a degree of trial and error is implicit in the category development schemes described--as well as in other data analysis methods described later in this section. Finally, the initial questions and associated theories influence the development of categories. Different categories often developed at different phases of my research, although many re-emerged time and again to inform developing theoretical formulations.

Ideal quantitative categories are marked by parsimony, homogeneity, mutual exclusiveness, and being exhaustive of the data (Pellegrini, in preparation, pp. 128-130). However those rational ideals may not always fit human experience. For example, homogeneity is undercut by the reality of fuzzy category boundaries (Tesch, 1990, p. 136). Similarly, although reformulations of categories may increase mutual exclusiveness, specific observations are likely to be coded in multiple categories in qualitative research (p. 138). This is because much of human experience can be multiply interpreted and because most symbols have different layers of meaning. Some observed data do not fit any category because they are irrelevant to the purposes of the study (p. 138). The rational criteria for category formation are worthy and may be approximated in research, but my ultimate goals in data analysis are relative accuracy and descriptive value in the categories formed, not logical perfection.

An Example of Category Formation and Reformulation

To illustrate my categorization process, I describe the evolution of the concept of "transition window" and its eventual use in my study. Most of the comments in this illustration are taken from field notes made during dead times between the transitions described, and thus they are fragmented and inconsistent. Later in the research process I reflected on and summarized them more coherently and consistently.

I entered the field with a clear idea of transition, the movement of children between locations using the hallway. I had also developed the idea of major and minor transitions while reviewing the literature on hallways and classrooms, designating a minor transition as a change from activity to activity within the classroom and a major transition as movement from the classroom to another location of the school using the hallway.

From the first day of the research at Pellegrini elementary, my field notes record that I was impressed, even overwhelmed, with the sudden flow of children in the hallway at certain times of day. An empty, or virtually empty hallway, would suddenly be engulfed with children, sometimes even a hundred or more kids when several classrooms would empty at a time. As I continued to observe this phenomenon, a cyclical ebb and flow of youngsters, I suspected that the cycles were predictable. I decided that this massive change was more than a major transition, as several rooms and grades were involved. I decided to use the designation transition window to describe the period of time when these cycles were most likely to occur. The term window was used in its secondary sense of a unit of time marked by the opening of something. I noted the importance of this time frame in my theoretical notes of March 1: transition windows are important because clusters and phalanxes are more likely to occur within the transition window.

Over the next two weeks of observing I attempted to determine when transition windows occurred by trying to document the beginning and end of the cycle. In my theoretical notes of March 14 I wondered if the original idea of a transition window was unworkable because as I carefully recorded the times when classes entered and exited the hallway during the supposed window of time, some of the time between the first class entering and the last class exiting was marked by an empty or nearly empty hallway. I had not captured the overwhelming impact I observed by the phrase transition window. I considered changing the idea of a transition window to designate a single class in the hallway, but rejected that because it is the same thing as a major transition. I then considered the idea of a transition frame, defined as the average amount of time in the hallway for most or all of the class to return, thus emphasizing amount of time rather than time of day. Although useful, this idea sidetracked the massive impact, and I observed in my notes that it did not help me with the original idea of whether children are different or the same inside and outside the transition window.

I then considered the idea of a movable transition window, defined not by the average times of entry and exit or span of time, but by the beginning whenever it happened and the ending no matter what the span of time was between. My theoretical notes comment that although this is a

more fluid therefore more difficult concept, it fits the setting better. I also noted that the cycles of activity related to the transition window are more distinct in the morning than in the afternoon; there is more sporadic entry into the hallway in the afternoon and significant periods when no child or only an occasional child is in the hallway.

On March 16 I added the adjectives "major" and "minor" to the phrase transition window. Kids are in the hallway longer during major transition windows, and phalanxes and clusters are more likely at these times. Minor transition windows are shorter and involve fewer children, I thought. One clear-cut major window was apparent, the break in the morning at 10:00, give or take ten to fifteen minutes, which many of the classes observe.

On March 18 I noted that there is little talking during the minor transition window, and lines are far more likely during these times. I thus created the designations "formal" and "informal" transition windows, because the formal line seems such a contrast with the less formal phalanxes and clusters. In addition the informal talking found in phalanxes and clusters contrasts markedly with the general silence of the formal line. I recall the eeriness of seeing a totally silent class file out of one classroom in a line formation, moving to the opposite wall, standing there for several minutes, still completely silent, then moving into the next room. I believe the eeriness unconsciously reminded me of some old movie with a title like "The Night of the Living Dead."

I also noted that phalanxes are more common near the end of the informal transition window; I designated this the "tail" of the window in my notes of April 6. I labeled the morning break as a "grand" transition window because it is far more overwhelming than any other transition of the day; not even before or after school is the hallway almost completely wall-to-wall kids for most of the hallway length. I also noted the convergence of minor transition windows late in the day, about 1:50 to 2:10. I then realized that the idea of convergence of different classrooms and often different grade levels is central to the whole idea of major transition windows and particularly the grand transition in the morning.

Pooling all of my observations and reflections on transitions, I attempted to develop a schematic for transitions for the entire day of March 18. The following is a slightly edited form of this portion of my theoretical notes for the day:

To summarize the day, there is the major transition from 7:30 to 8:00 marking the beginning of the day, with some holdover of class changes for the first ten minutes or so (to 8:10) which sort of expands this window a bit.

I have seen formal transition windows at various times in the early morning, marked by high control and lining with very few if any clusters and phalanxes. The grand window, the "break" at 10:00 (9:35 to 10:15 roughly) is marked by many clusters and phalanxes.

There is an interesting convergence of minor transition windows from about 10:50 to 11:10, but there is little interaction and few if any phalanxes and clusters. This is a formal transition window.

The noon transition window runs from about 11:50 to about 12:45 or so, but after that point (at least on Friday) things are a bit looser and less formal than morning minor transitions. Phalanxes are seen until about 1:15, many of them third graders and sixth graders.

From 1:53 to 2:10 there is another convergence of transition windows, this one much more informal again than the morning convergence.

The day ends with a thirty minute period (2:30 to 3:00) when things are fairly informal, and lots of phalanxes and a number of clusters as kids make their way out of the building. After 3:00 there are spurts of hallway activity, but few if any clusters (kids are in a hurry to get to bus). There are some phalanxes at this time.

On March 22, I attempted to make the terminology used more consistent and to decide which of all these possible designations are most useful. I wrote these definitions in my theoretical notes:

A *transition* is movement of at least several children from one location to another using the school hallway.

A *major transition* is when all or most of the children from several classrooms at several grade levels are in the process of moving from one location to another using the hallway. Examples: beginning of school, ending of school, break time, possibly at lunch.

A *minor transition* is when all or most of the children from at least one classroom

are in the process of moving from one location to another using the hallway. However, either there is only one grade level or one classroom involved. Examples: moving from one classroom to another for a change of subject.

A *transition window* is a consistent convergence of transitions, major or minor. The transitions of different classes either overlap or they are in quick succession (less than three minutes or so).

A *formal transition window* is where children are almost always expected to be in line formation, be quiet, and walk, stand, or sit with no other activity.

An *informal transitions window* is where kids are allowed to talk, enter social formations other than lines, and other activities (running, jumping, rough-and-tumble play, etc.) are at least tolerated occasionally.

Note that these definitions change the meanings of major and minor transitions from my ideas when I entered the field; no longer is a minor transition an in-classroom phenomenon. Now I think that is a mistake and have changed it back to the original meanings--minor as in-classroom, major as outside the classroom. The principle of parsimony of words pushed me in this direction. Also the convergence of classes became central to the notion of transition window, something that did not occur to me until late in the conceptualization process. The convergence of classes entering the hallway best explained the strong impact of the transition. Perhaps this listing is as significant for what is excluded as for what is included; I deleted many designations toyed with because they seemed irrelevant for what was emerging as the purpose for these labels--though they might be relevant for other purposes outside the current analysis.

What was the emerging purpose for the transition window designation? Throughout my observations, it became clearer and clearer to me that the three basic social forms--lines, phalanxes, and clusters--were to be the focus of my study. It was during the transition window, particularly the informal transition window, that I most often observed these social forms. From my observations over a number of days, I charted a more complete outline of the timing of transitions for the three classes I would later interview and focused my videotaping on those classes at those times. As noted in the section on videotape methods, I began videotaping primarily during those times of day marked by major transitions, both formal and informal, for these classes and moving the camera to record the specific aspects of phalanxes and clusters during those transition windows. For my current purposes, the transition window and associated constructs helped direct the timing of observation and recording to best analyze these social forms.

Refining Categories and Developing Hypotheses

The sources cited previously helped considerably in refining as well as developing categories. However, a specific method of analysis, analytic induction, was particularly influential in refining categories and in the development of researchable hypotheses.

Analytic induction was formalized into a social science research strategy by Znaniecki (1934), although he asserted that it had long been used in the natural sciences and ultimately could be traced to the ancient Greek philosophers (pp. 236-237). Znaniecki's analytic induction has been adapted and sometimes blended with other methods of analysis by subsequent writers such as Robinson (1951), Lindesmith (1952), Becker (1969), and Mehan (1979).

The essence of the method involves " . . . inducing laws from a deep analysis of experimentally isolated instances" (Znaniecki, 1934, p. 237). This is contrasted with the more common procedure of defining and using constructs prior to research; instead definitions themselves are considered hypotheses to be tested, as are the hypothetical relationships among concepts (p. 241). Analysis is comprised of two steps: 1) developing a hypothetical statement from an individual instance, then 2) comparing that hypothesis with alternative possibilities taken from other instances (pp. 261-262). While initial hypotheses are tentative and may be changed because of discrepant cases, the net result is greater generalizability of the emerging constructs and theoretical relationships between constructs that may come to reflect fairly exhaustive knowledge of phenomena (pp. 232-233, 249, 272-275, 306). Although the goal of analysis is comprehensive, parsimonious laws, no analysis is considered final because reality is "inexhaustible" and constantly changing (pp. 256-258).

Later advocates of analytic induction generally repudiated Znaniecki's emphasis on certain and absolute *laws* of human behavior (e.g., Robinson, 1951). They also emphasized the purposeful

search for negative cases, that, although implicit in Znaniecki's description, did not have the prominence portrayed in subsequent treatments of the subject. Accounting for all incidents in the categories developed, categories being exhaustive, is the goal of the search for negative cases, although this may be elusive in some situations, because of the fuzzy category boundaries noted earlier. Likewise Znaniecki's initial step, noted previously, was modified by some later advocates of analytic induction who suggested that data collection *follows* definitions and hypotheses (Cressey as cited by Robinson, 1951; Katz, 1983); others, however, reflect Znaniecki's thought that collecting data *precedes* category and hypothesis development (Becker, 1969; Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, pp. 65-68; LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 254-255; Mehan, 1979, p. 21). Another modification made by subsequent advocates was the possibility of combining quantitative, enumerative strategies with analytic induction (Becker, 1969; Mehan, 1979; Robinson, 1951), in contrast with Znaniecki's strong opposition to statistical methods of research (pp. 225-235).

One way of summarizing the analytic induction process is a seven stage procedure (adapted from LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 254-255): 1) scanning of data collected in field notes to identify categories and attributes, 2) additional scanning of the data for other examples of categories, 3) creating typologies for categories, 4) determining the relationships that exist between categories, 5) creating hypotheses from the relationships discovered, 6) seeking examples that contradict hypotheses, and 7) continually refining hypotheses until all examples are accounted for and explained. The last three phases particularly summarize analytic induction as proposed by Znaniecki and as followed by his successors.

An Example of Analytic Induction

Throughout this research I was impressed with the differential monitoring of teachers in the hallway. The same teacher would sometimes ignore and sometimes correct the same misbehavior in the hallway. Was this difference because teachers were moody or arbitrary in their correction? I looked to see.

These ideas were immediately contradicted by indications that teachers would sometimes ignore the misbehavior in some children and correct it with others during a single transition in the hallway. I had to change my emerging hypothesis of teacher surveillance and correction. I kept looking.

On February 17 I made a notation that teachers monitor their own grade level more than other grades. Also I noted that children ignore the presence of teachers of grade levels other than their own. I set out looking for examples of just the opposite, consistent with analytic induction, where teachers monitor grade levels other than the one taught. And indeed, occasionally I found teachers correcting children in other grades, especially when it involved more extreme misbehavior. However, they rarely correct sixth grade youngsters. Sixth graders may be exempted for two reasons: the sixth-grade teachers were far more permissive with children's behavior in the hallway, and apparently teachers at other grades were willing to tolerate behavior they did not like--and often complained about--because they did not wish to interfere with the autonomy of the sixth-grade teachers. The second possibility is that all three sections of the sixth grade were, unlike other grades, grouped together at the outside end of the hallway--territory is often defined by spatial separation. Thus the hypothesis had to be revised to indicate that children are *less likely* to be corrected if they are of a different grade level, but that it does occur with the noted exception. Later I did find very rare corrections of sixth graders by other grade teachers, but even these rare corrections involved teachers complaining more than taking action or making threats. I watched some more.

Throughout my observations, I sensed other variations in the monitoring process. Perhaps, I thought, monitoring and correction by a teacher are more common with the classroom that was *entering* a teacher's room. I again set out to find negative examples. I quickly discovered that children *leaving* the teacher's room are also regularly monitored and corrected. I eventually concluded that children leaving are even more likely to be corrected than those entering.

I looked for still other exceptions to the entering-leaving hypotheses--are there times when teachers extensively monitor the same grade level students that are neither leaving nor entering the classroom? On March 17 I found such a negative case. On that day three of the fifth-grade teachers were in another area of the building, and the only other fifth-grade teacher walked between the four classrooms observing student behavior and correcting altercations. The four rooms appeared to be

monitored equally by the teacher. I decided that the presence of other teachers, either in the hallway or in the classroom, accounted for this exception; generally teachers placed greater surveillance priority on the section of children leaving their own rooms.

Another exception to this trend was discovered through the search for negative examples, which required modification of the theory. Teachers sometimes look into the classroom of the teacher who shares the same entryway, irrespective of the grade the entrymate teaches. As noted previously, most classrooms in the building share a common opening to the hallway with another classroom, thus teachers sharing an entryway are entrymates. Thus location, as well as grade, influences monitoring behavior. Greater familiarity with children in nearby rooms is one possible reason for this tendency. I suspected, and confirmed, that not only is location a factor at this microscale of entrymates, but also at the more macro scale; teachers sharing the same hallway are more likely to correct children in that hallway than visiting children from the other hallway. This was clearly confirmed when observing older children moving down the early elementary hallway to their remedial reading class--their loud talking is never corrected by early elementary teachers in that area; indeed teachers take little action other than grimacing. However, teacher authority *for the same grade* does extend to the other hallway; third grades are located in both hallways, and teachers in the early elementary wing are more likely to correct third-grade students from the other wing visiting the early elementary wing.

As described, I reformed the hypothesis several times because of finding negative examples, exceptions to the rule. The final form of the hypothesis is hardly a law as Znaniecki envisioned, but rather more a probabilistic statement of what occurs. I concluded that a given teacher most closely monitors and corrects children who have just previously been in her classroom, and to a slightly lesser extent children coming into her classroom. The third priority of monitoring and correcting is the children at the same grade level but who are going to and from other teachers' rooms. Children in the entrymate's room are also monitored at a slightly lower priority level if it involved another grade. A fifth priority of surveillance is for other grades in the same hallway, with the exception of sixth graders. The lowest priority for correction is children from the other wing of the school--unless they are the same grade as that taught--and sixth graders. During the member check at the conclusion of gathering data, teachers generally confirmed these priorities, although one suggested that only the *other* teachers make these distinctions.

Organizing Categories

Subsequent to the development and refining of categories and associated hypotheses, some systemic arrangement is possible. One way of accomplishing this is through constructing an ethogram that catalogs all of the physical and consequential categories discovered through observation (Pellegrini, 1991, p. 122). This straightforward listing of categories is preliminary to systematic observation in ethological methodology.

A somewhat more elaborate way of organizing categories is through typological analysis. Typologies are ways of organizing categories into one or more classification systems. Typologies may be derived from patterns, themes, or other groupings of categories (Patton, 1990, pp. 393, 398). Lofland and Lofland (1984, p. 96) identify two rules for typing: categories should be *mutually exclusive* so that most, if not all, examples fit a single category and *exhaustive* in that almost all, or at least most, examples fit some category listed. For this analysis, the typology is distinguished from two more complex forms of organizing categories: the matrix and the taxonomy. However, this distinction--although emergent from the sources consulted--is not outlined in any of them, in part because the matrix and taxonomy are sometimes considered examples of typology.

The logic matrix, as described by Patton (pp. 411-422), involves two or more typologies, representing either different or the same dimensions, that are placed in an intersecting pattern, so that cells are formed corresponding with a category in each typology. These cells highlight interrelationships across domains or across categories within a domain. Miles and Huberman (1994) illustrate many kinds of matrices that contrast multiple aspects of a study, such as the predictor-outcome matrix, the role-by-group matrix, and the role-by-time matrix. Another well-known matrix is the descriptive question matrix (Spradley, 1980, pp. 82-83), used primarily for orienting the researcher to potential questions to ask during research, although it can be adapted for data analysis subsequent to data collection. Patton describes the logic matrix as a typological system, although these two topics are considered in nonadjacent sections of his chapter on analytic

approaches, thus implying a distinction.

The typology can also be differentiated from the taxonomy, considered in detail by Spradley (1980, pp. 112-121). A taxonomic system has multiple levels of concepts, with higher levels being inclusive of each successive level. Thus, instead of two or more typologies intersecting, the logic matrix, a hierarchical structure is developed within a single superordinate category for each domain. The result resembles a flow chart or an outline. Spradley suggests that the organization of categories, subcategories, and additional levels within subcategories are suggestive of the cultural meanings of those categorical systems, because it indicates how categories relate to one another.

Patton (1990, pp. 393-400) distinguishes two kinds of typologies: those including categories used by people studied and typologies constructed by the researcher. Indigenous categories are underscored because the language of those studied indicates what aspects of reality are considered important enough to name and distinguish from other aspects, as well as revealing how participants in the study distinguish one category from another. However, Patton also allows for researcher-constructed typologies not articulated by participants. He cautions that the latter variety should be presented to participants to discover if they are credible to insiders. The primary purpose for typologies, Patton affirms, is descriptions of patterns that emerge, but they may later be used to interpret those patterns.

Although Patton encourages researchers to construct emergent typologies, existing typologies may be adapted for use in subsequent research. The most frequently cited template typologies are those of John Lofland (1971) and a successor created by John and Lyn Lofland (1984). In the first typology, all social behavior is divided into six categories: acts, activities, meanings, participation, relationships, and settings. Each of these can be viewed as static constructs or as occurring in sequences or phases. The second, more elaborated, version of Lofland's typology identifies eleven "thinking units" that can be used to group social activity: meanings, practices, episodes, encounters, roles, relationships, groups, organizations, settlements, social worlds, and lifestyles (Lofland & Lofland, pp. 71-92). Each of these, in turn, can be compared with seven aspects of social activities: type, structure, frequency, causes, processes, consequences, and strategies (pp. 93-117). Thus the latter two typologies can be matrixed (p. 94).

Another method for organizing categories is through the development of metaphors. Powerful, creative linkages among ideas are possible through the development of metaphors, similes, and analogies (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, pp. 274-276) and constitute one way of "making the commonplace strange." A single metaphor can convey much meaning and help increase interest in a subject, yet it is important that data not be manipulated to fit the metaphor. Another danger is that metaphors can be reified so that the world is acted on as if the metaphor was literally the case or fits reality in a way that it does not (Patton, 1990, pp. 400-402).

In conclusion, an important variety of qualitative analysis is the organization of categories into meaningful frameworks using ethograms, typologies, logic matrices, taxonomies, and metaphorical systems. The first four of these frameworks not only constitute varieties of analysis, but also allow readers to organize and explicate additional potential meanings by examining patterns within and across different branches of the ethogram, typology, logic matrix, or taxonomy.

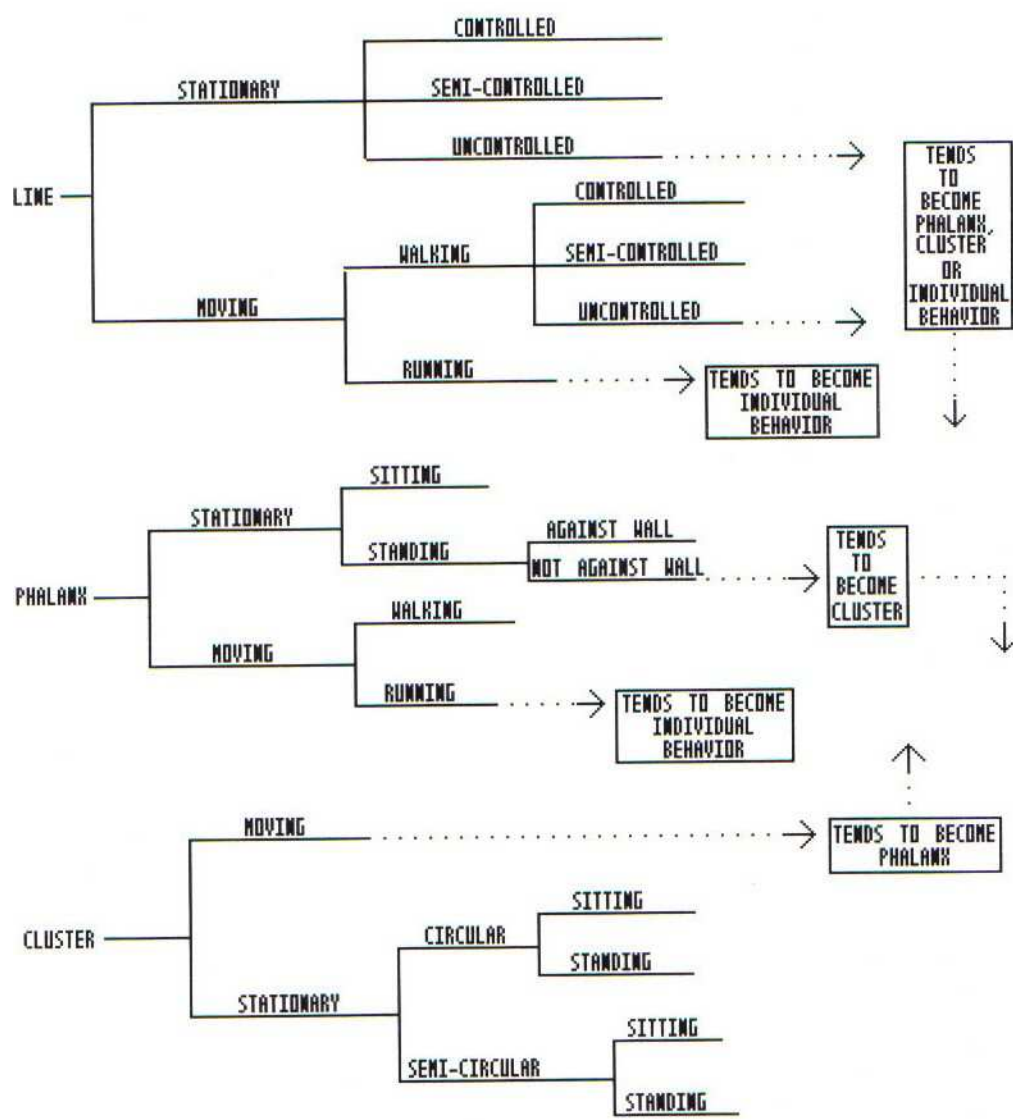
Examples of a Taxonomy and Metaphors

The main typological framework developed in this study outlines primary social formations: the line, the phalanx, and the cluster. As has been mentioned previously, the line and cluster have been observed in elementary school hallways prior to this study, and the phalanx emerged as a major social form in the present hallway, appearing more frequently than the cluster and--especially prior to the beginning of school and as children left school--sometimes more common than the line. These three social forms reflect more researcher-initiated categories, in contrast with children's comments which reflected the view that the phalanx and cluster were the same at least in social function. In contrast, I was more impressed with the physical shape and the presence or absence of physical movement toward a destination.

Each of these three social formations has subcategories that fit a taxonomic system (see Figure Four). The line can be stationary or moving. Usually the moving line involves walking, but on rare occasions fast walking and even running were observed. Lines can also be strictly controlled by the teacher, so that the line is silent, straight, and does not depart from uniformity of

movement or nonmovement. Conversely it can be semicontrolled so that some deviance from strict line rules occurs. Finally, the line can be uncontrolled, which often occurs when the teacher leaves, almost inevitably resulting in children entering another of the three social formations or individualistic separation. The standard phalanx involves walking most of the time, but some running phalanxes are attempted, but usually they do not remain in phalanx formation. When phalanxes stop moving, almost inevitably they become clusters, except when the phalanx is standing against a wall; this is most likely to occur when a line stands next to the wall for more than a few minutes, and only if the teacher permits the change. A variation of the standard phalanx is the sitting phalanx, where children sit next to one another, usually in long rows leaning against the wall of the hallway. The sitting phalanx is most commonly observed prior to the beginning of the school day, but occasionally at other times as well. The cluster also has a sitting variety, often developing from the sitting phalanx when several children begin more intensive discussions and one or more move into the hallway slightly by sitting at 90 degree angles from someone sitting against the wall, resulting in a semicircular cluster. Occasionally one or two other children assume a placement directly opposite the child leaning against the wall to form a circular form of the cluster. A cluster or phalanx can be momentary or sustained.

Several metaphors suggested by children in interviews illustrate this approach. Some children saw the hallway as a highway, with students expected to pass to the



right and stop when a patrolman or teacher so commands. Many other aspects of this metaphor are considered in Chapter Ten. Children also viewed the hallway as a prison, sometimes speaking of the rules and restrictions of behavior, but on at least one occasion the high level of noise was compared with a prison. A third metaphor is a family, with peers being like brothers and sisters and the teachers and administrators like parents. Finally, one third grade group offered these metaphors in quick succession: "herds of buffalo," "a cattle stampede," "bullets," "a football team," "an exploding hand grenade," and a "high tech bulldozer," all of these metaphors denoting the entry of sixth graders into hallway; reflecting the weaker control teachers exercised on this grade level.

Verifying Hypotheses

Verification is most commonly associated with enumerative and deductive forms of research, rather than the normally more generative, inductive approach used in qualitative research. Although emergent hypotheses are verified by additional observations either within the initial site or sometimes in additional comparative sites, strict verification is assumed to require another research instrument, either a different researcher at a different site or quantitative methodology.

One of the basic forms of enumeration is descriptive statistics (Pellegrini, in preparation,

pp. 217-220). Behavioral events are converted into numbers, rather than words as in qualitative research, through counting the number of times an event takes place in a given condition or situation or by categorizing behavior by means of words, abbreviations, or numbers and later counting each of the categories. From these counts, central tendency can be calculated, rendering a score considered typical of the sample. The most common method of measuring central tendency is by adding all of the scores of a category and dividing by the number of scores, thus producing the mean. Other measures of central tendency include the median and mode. Another general area of descriptive statistics is the measurement of variability, which includes the range, variance, and standard deviation of scores (Pellegrini, in preparation, pp. 217-219).

In contrast with the summarizing and classifying of descriptive statistics, inferential statistics involves manipulating numerical data to infer characteristics of the larger population from which the sample studied is drawn (Hinkle, Wiersma, & Jurs, 1979, pp. 9-10). Inferential statistics may be parametric when the characteristics of a population are considered to be normally distributed throughout that population or they can be nonparametric when those characteristics are not assumed to be normally distributed. Nonparametric statistics can also be used when the researcher is not interested in making inferences to the larger population. In both varieties of inferential statistics, inferences are made about the likelihood or probability of the descriptive statistical information being the results of chance (Pellegrini, in preparation, p. 220).

Although descriptive statistics are sometimes undervalued in favor of inferential statistics, Benson (1994) makes a strong case that descriptive statistics can provide more meaningful indications of practical significance in contrast with measures of significance derived from inferential statistics. To derive the fullest possible meaning of those differences, it is crucial, says Benson, to consider carefully the magnitudes of differences prior to the application of inferential statistics.

A third variety of statistics is more endogenous to qualitative research, "quasi-statistics" (Becker, 1969). As it is used, this is a special variety of descriptive statistics because the research site precludes the usage of statistical tests. Although the conclusions made with quasi-statistics are conceptually numerical, precise quantification is impossible because no standardized protocol is used. For example, a researcher might count the number of times an event is noted in field notes. Johnson and Johnson (1990) and Thorne (1993, p. 103) also describe this idea of counting things in field notes, although they do not use the descriptor "quasi-statistics." The conclusions drawn from quasi-statistical information may represent genuine differences in frequency; thus conclusions about proportionality of responses, stated in percentages or some more general designation, are possible. Becker also notes that quasi-statistical conclusions are phrased, as in standard statistics, in terms of probability and likelihood rather than certainty.

I occasionally used some descriptive statistics for a few of the hypotheses generated in this study. Because the site was considered an ideal site rather than typical site, inferences to the broader population of children in schools appear to be unwarranted. Although it might be tempting to infer to the broader population of the school studied or at least students in general within the main hallway studied, purposeful sampling was often used (described previously) rather than random sampling, thus parametric statistics are inappropriate. Descriptive statistics were generally preferred to quasi-statistics because of the advantage that numerical indications of reliability are possible even after the fact because of the recording of data with videotape and cassettes. Finally, the overall purpose of my study was to *describe* what happened in the school hallway studied, thus descriptive statistics are primary in my numerical analysis.

Using Analytic Methods

Category formation methods and analytic induction predominated during the earliest weeks of the study. Typological analysis was used more frequently later in the study to organize certain categories discovered.

Although some preliminary analysis of interview data took place while collecting data, thus providing some of the data for member checks, the bulk of analysis and triangulation occurred after the conclusion of data collection. Responses were analyzed using one or more of the four analytic procedures. Subsequently, key themes *across* questions and sessions were considered, inducing key themes by comparing responses.

Conclusion

This chapter does not capture all that was involved in my data analysis. Qualitative data analysis is a complex process that sometimes is as intuitive or insight driven as it is methodological. Much of it is simply trial and error. I have attempted to specify those methods that most informed my analysis. But I am impressed with the difficulty of unraveling the specific genesis of a given analytic conclusion, even as I look back on my own creations.

CHAPTER VI

A DAY IN THE HALLWAY

What was it like to study the hallway of Pellegrini elementary? How did the initial day go? What were my earliest impressions and hunches? What did the raw observation notes look like? To answer these questions, this chapter provides a verbal picture of a day in the main hallway studied. Yet it is obvious that this is no snapshot with an objective camera; even cameras are positioned in different ways, making them less than objective. From the earliest moments of the first day I was interpreting and orienting toward certain phenomena and ignoring many other things at the same time.

What follows is my corrected record of the first day. In what sense are the comments corrected? The original form of the notes was handwritten notations. Those notes were transferred to the computer over the two days following the events recorded. In that transfer, details were added and perhaps a few changes were made. A second level of correction occurs as I write this chapter, correcting spelling and grammar, and changing certain designators that would otherwise be confusing, for example, substituting more meaningful descriptions for the directions right and left. A third level of correction is also occurring as I write these words, which involves explanations that were oversights at the time of the initial writing or reflections on what was recorded in light of subsequent discoveries. Because this third level involves a more interpretative level of writing, it is highlighted by the use of italics and brackets within the text if short and marked by unindented paragraphs when longer.

To keep this chapter to a manageable length, certain conventions are introduced. The field notes are single spaced. Only selected comments or paraphrases from methodological notes, personal notes, and theoretical notes are included. Teacher's names have either been omitted or their pseudonyms substituted.

Before the Beginning

The first day of research at Pellegrini Elementary, February 8, 1994, began with my entering the hallway unannounced. Mr. Martin and I agreed that my observations would begin on this day, and he suggested I meet with all the teachers at the end of the day to explain more fully what would be involved. Unknown to me, the principal had not told teachers or students I would be at the school early in the day. Some children and teachers apparently thought I was another guest who was expected, although I was never able to determine for certain who that other guest was -- possibly a guest speaker for a faculty meeting. Thus some confusion about my identity can be observed.

7:47 It's a rainy morning, many kids are already in the hallway. Several kids are sitting on the floor, so I sit down on the floor as well. Several ask what I'm doing. I say I'm a student learning about kids. Kids suddenly stand up and form a line to go to classroom. Adult woman may have cued them--a teacher assistant? Kids continue to sporadically come down the hallway.

Children at sixth grade end of hall sitting. Two teachers slowly walk down the hallway. I stopped Ms. Deegan, a former student of mine, and asked her to call me "Don" and never professor or Mr. Ratcliff, as she did in the recent past when I saw her.

In my personal notes I reflected on whether I should work with Ms. Deegan as a teacher resource later in my study. Although very friendly, she still called me "Mr. Ratcliff" as she did when she was a student. I suspected my being at Pellegrini elementary was not entirely welcome by her, suggested by her not always saying "Hello" when she passed by me. But I also wondered if this was a part of her strict teacher role, maintained much of the time. I eventually concluded that the lack of greeting was role oriented, because she reciprocated--momentarily dropping the teacher role--whenever I initiated a greeting. I recall the almost always smiling and pleasant Ms. Deegan from the classes she took with me. In my personal notes I wondered if the more serious teacher role Ms. Deegan had developed was necessary to being a good teacher.

One boy rubs shoulders with another as they pass opposite ways. Adult says, "Keep it

moving," and kids break up and walk away.

This rubbing of shoulders was mentioned in my theoretical notes for the day as a very common behavior, perhaps a form of rough-and-tumble play. Later in the study I concluded that it represents a quasi-group formation I termed "cruising." Often children rub against, hit, or otherwise touch one another on passing. This can be a ritual greeting or an initiation of rough-and-tumble play or a provocation. Another example occurred in the 7:53 entry where a common variation, a cross-sex provocation, took place.

7:53 Kids seated at sixth grade end of the hallway one by one stand up and begin to move to classroom. Boy apparently provoked girl (I was looking another direction) and she runs after him hitting him twice. Hits him a second time, this time after going through the doorway to the classroom, then she goes back into the hall. Cluster of four boys, talking--about ten seconds in duration. Child asks, "You being a student?" I answer yes.

7:56 Five boys, three in front phalanx talking, laugh loudly, as they go to class. Fewer kids in hallway, all separated from one another. All go directly to classes. Two girl phalanx, talking as they walk. Several children stare at me as they go by; most adults ignore me. Two girl phalanx talking and walking.

This was my first recognition of a phalanx. When I saw kids walking side by side, I wanted to give it some designation, and what came to mind was a term dimly recalled from a book on adult social formations I had read many months before, a designation I never thought I would need for my study. Observing this social form was a surprise, and I was even more surprised to see how commonly it occurred, yet I had not seen or at least recognized it at the previous two schools I had observed. I later looked at the book again (Schefflen, 1976, pp. 101-102) and found only a picture and a couple of sentences on the phalanx. Schefflen implied it requires multiple rows. However, on checking several dictionaries, I found evidence that this military term can designate a single row of people side by side. In my personal notes later in the day I wondered if the phalanx always reflects peer culture in the school. In my theoretical notes I wondered if phalanxes change with grade level, particularly whether mixed sex phalanxes become less common with higher grade levels in the elementary school years.

7:58 Two boys in line are talking. Hall almost empty. A few stragglers are still coming and going directly to class. They aren't in a big hurry, but most do not go slowly.

The School Day Begins

8:00 Bell rings. About ten to twelve kids come down the hall together. Kids all walking about the same speed, a couple kids run down the hall, then three or four run down the hallway. Two girl phalanx and two boys in line.

8:01 Announcements being made, hall empty. One boy walking somewhat slowly to room. Male leaves sixth grade room and goes out outside door.

8:03 Two more kids go to rooms, moderate speed. Girl smiles at me as she goes from a classroom to area near inside doors. Another straggler comes in.

8:04 I reposition near an almost empty room to hear announcements. Girl gets drink. Kids coming and going from classes, several adults too.

8:05 Two individuals in hallway, one an adult. Hall empty. Large person (adult?) goes from one classroom to another. Child runs, sees me, walks, then skips, then side to side with slight run.

This incident suggests a limited reactive effect. These minor and usually short-lived changes in behavior are surprisingly rare for a first day of observing.

8:07 Announcements end, more kids in hall--late arrivers, boys in phalanx. (The empty hallway suddenly having several late arriving children makes me wonder if they hold kids at the entrance during announcements.) Boys with three balls. Two girls leave room, slow walking, not together. Boy eyes me as he holds door for girl using a walker. There is little use of the drinking fountain. Child going in the restroom, looks around the corner eyeing me. Earlier a child eyed me around the corner of the classroom entryway. Boys are near doorway, one punches at the other, they then talk, then part--total time of interaction is 15 seconds or less. Teacher asks if I'm the person they were expecting--said they expected me this afternoon.

I expressed frustration that I had supposedly been introduced to the school without my knowing

what had been said. I had no idea what role expectations others had already developed or what expectations needed to be corrected. It was ironic that no one had apparently said anything about my coming to Pellegrini; the expected person was either a guest speaker at the faculty meeting or someone else.

The Chapter One classroom is near the drinking fountains and restrooms -- that makes sense.

Chapter One is a federal program for remediation of math and reading. At Pellegrini elementary some of the Chapter One children are mentally disabled and require teacher assistance with using the drinking fountains and restrooms.

A student looks in the glass of the classroom door, then hugs the pole near the door, then stares at me.

The activity around the large poles at entryways was interesting, at times even ritualistic. I noted in my theoretical notes that the rubbing of hands against the hallway and posts was ritualistic (I toyed with the idea that it might be affection for the school, but soon found that thesis to be implausible). Kids would sometimes touch each pole as they went down the hallway; walk or run circles around the poles, touching them as they moved; try to climb the poles; tap them rhythmically, and even post notes with public proclamations such as "Mary loves Jimmy." I thought several times during the study of how poles are a part of some tribal religions; unconsciously were these children recapitulating archetypal rituals from our ancestral past? Children everywhere touch things and concrete aspects of the environment engage their attention, perhaps because they are more sensitive than adults to the details of the setting. Yet Davies (1982, p. 18) notes that adults constantly impute meaning to children's activities, but this can be a mistake since children can impute a very different meaning from adults, or not impute any meaning; what Davies terms extemporizing. Another similar possibility is that activities around the poles reveal boredom.

Other kids in hallway are making slow movements. Girls still standing at pole --about a minute or more--much more movement in hall now. Cluster of three boys between drinking fountain and restroom. Two adults casually talking. Two groups of boys, two in each group, standing around talking. Two go to fountain, still talking. Other two stand and talk in middle of hall. They are joined by a third boy, then back to two. Boys talking two minutes or more by this point, nearby adults do not say anything.

I am already noting that adults, probably teachers, were ignoring behavior that is often censured. Later I watched this much more systematically and found that the same teachers would ignore some children's behavior and correct and reprimand other children, as noted in Chapter Five. This notation probably started me thinking about this possibility and what it meant.

One adult tells me where coffee is. I smile and acknowledge the comment. Two boys talking in the middle of hall and at a drinking fountain. An adult is riding on an electric cart. Kids have as much interest in the cart as in me. "How many pages you wrote?" a child asks me. I say, "about three." Child says, "Wow, you write fast." Girl that was holding pole earlier returns and walks around pole with hand on pole. Three girls cluster and talk as they walk down the hall. Two girls at pole now, talking. Nearby boy talks with them. Become cluster of three. Other kids walking back and forth in hall. Three kids talking about locking doors and how old they are. Kids come out of class, two running, two others stop for drinks. Three girl phalanx.

8:20 Cluster of three disappeared when classrooms emptied. Hall empty. Phalanx of four girls, talking quietly, walking slowly from class to inside doorway end of hallway.

8:21 One child walking slowly with limp. Boy touches poster that is falling down, either to read it or try to fix it. Cluster of four boys at sixth grade end of hall, looking at paper.

This poor poster, one of the very few things I ever saw hanging near the sixth grade end of the hallway, hung there for days, perhaps weeks afterward. It always drooped with one corner that would not stay attached, no matter how many times kids tried to fix it. I am amazed that so much attention by kids was given to a drab poster, but neglected by adults. Perhaps the great attention given to decorations by early elementary teachers would not go unnoticed by older kids. Teachers, perhaps, feel that more academic things should preoccupy the minds of fourth, fifth, and sixth graders, but kids still want the hallway to look nice.

Rough line formation as older kids exchange classes at sixth grade end of hall.

8:22 Boy stops to spit in drinking fountain. Three girls cluster for three seconds, then

becomes two girl cluster whispering as walk down the hall. Large arm gestures. Clusters can walk. This is most easily accomplished by two kids walking sideways as one walks forward. However, I did sometimes see kids walk backward to keep the cluster formation. This makes me wonder, contrary to what the kids told me later in interviews, if clusters are socially distinct from phalanxes, otherwise why would they walk in such a difficult manner to retain the cluster? Communication with bodies

turned at least partly toward one another seems more intimate than walking side by side.

Girl calling quietly to another far down the hall (loud whisper). Two boys talking to each other. Stop to ask me if I'm writing stories or a reporter. I say I'm just studying kids. One says, "Well, you didn't have to grab my arm, Jason," to the other.

I told myself later that I should not say *just* studying kids. At this time, and a couple of others when I used this term, I meant to convey that I was not threatening or watching for an ulterior reason. But the term "just" could convey that I was condescending and not valuing their viewpoints. I recall thinking about this and reminding myself not to say that word when I explained what I was doing.

Phalanx of two boys, talking at a moderate level (vs. the whispering of the girls).

8:26 Hall almost empty again. Two boys playing, one then both begin jogging frantically. They see third boy and talk loudly about grades they got on a test. Two other boys slowly walk from one room to another, talking in phalanx. I hear a loud boy's voice but don't see him--in classroom?

8:29 Small children in orderly line going to class, at inside entryway. Two girl phalanx talking, stop to try to put up the poster. Talking to each other as they walk down the hall. Male adult passes, says nothing.

8:30 Empty hall except for male adult, now going other way in hall after moving to the outside door. Two boys meet in hall, brief exchange (less than five seconds) and move on. Line of eight boys, two more boys join line, followed by girls. Looks like younger kids than are in classrooms in this hall. They stand in line at the outside door then move outside.

These younger children, like others from the early elementary hallway, regularly went through this hallway to the music building that was just beyond the outside doorway. It amazed me later that teachers did not take them through the outside corridor that ran parallel to this hallway. I think the reason was that there is better surveillance of children in a hallway than outside, even with the corridor. It may have saved the teachers a few steps, but not many, to go through the hallway. In casual conversations, several of the early elementary teachers remarked that the hallway restrooms and drinking fountains made this hallway more convenient, but usually the teachers going to the music building did not stop to let the children use these facilities.

Three girls and a boy in the hall are looking at posters, then writing on own sheets of paper holding them against the wall or post. This lasts only about 15 seconds, they walk near classrooms, then go back to writing and looking at their own papers holding them against the wall or post.

(There are support posts at every entryway which opens to two classroom doors.)

Two girls and one boy still writing on and looking at papers they hold against wall, which has gone on for several minutes. Girls are together for several minutes, then separate. They talk to a boy down the hall. The girls join one another, working side by side on papers.

I hear an adult say "get in line" and kids come out of a classroom. It is a very rough line, not really a line but clusters and phalanxes.

This was undoubtedly Ms. Deegan's fifth grade homeroom, which left their classroom for physical education about this time every day. Ms. Deegan teaches spelling and physical education, giving each section about a half hour for each. She told me how she believed both subjects were hardly worth the children's time. Later in the study she was very willing for me to take youngsters for interviews during both the spelling and physical education periods. An often made remark, also sometimes made by Ms. Glynn, was, "Sure, take them *all* if you want to." Physical education did not prompt as much interest as I expected, as a number of children looked bored and uninvolved during this highly structured part of the class period. I often wondered during the study why the children were not allowed some less structured times of play. Even fifth graders can enjoy swings and free play. I mentioned this to the principal at the end of the study, and he said they had tried

some unstructured play with older grades, but children had repeated fights and other interpersonal problems. He was quite emphatic that recess was more inconvenient than helpful. It amazes me that all the children were penalized for the lack of self-control by a few. Research suggests that children denied recess tend to be more disruptive, stressed and tired (Thompson, 1989, p. 60). Perhaps unstructured play could be considered a teaching lesson in social cooperation for those who could not get along and a needed break for the others. As it was, pent up tension spilled over into the hallway and strained teacher-child relationships at times. I think that if children are not allowed some unstructured play, they are more likely to bring aggression or play into other areas of the school, as the next sentence of my notes reveals. A line of three boys talk somewhat loudly, play with a door by looking in empty classroom as if they are detectives. They go out of the classroom, looking around the corners, peeking at one other, then run. One pushes another against the wall, then they break up and keep walking. They run, pushing each other side to side, making noises.

8:39 Now three girls and boys are writing on papers held against the wall. Girls cluster and break up and recluster. They then cluster with boys, talking to one another. Boy from cluster asks me what I'm doing. I tell him I'm watching and writing. He asks, "Doing a report?" I say, "Kinda." Continues working on paper, then goes back to girls. Girls are talking and one gives another a friendly push. They talk more, then go back to work on the papers held against the wall. They are talking, laughing, and looking at writing on metal strips that are all the way down the hallway on each side. It looks like they are writing on the metal strip.

This metal strip, with inlaid cork, was apparently installed to hold children's artwork. In my theoretical notes I wondered if the metal strip told kids that they could potentially be recognized. When few received such recognition from teachers, children found another function for the strip; writing graffiti on the cork. Graffiti is a part of peer culture that has been overlooked in schools. I noted that most of the graffiti consisted of names and notations about supposed romantic pairs. None of it that I observed could be considered obscene or profane. This strip was almost a peer culture bulletin board used by children and ignored by adults. Two interesting studies describe the wide variety of children's experiences and thinking reflected in children's graffiti (Lucca & Pacheco, 1986; and McLaren, 1993, p. 198). This incident also suggests that my presence was probably not making a lot of difference in hallway behavior; they ignored me, and I encouraged that by avoiding eye contact with them.

Three girls and boys are talking about what girl the boy likes. One girl writes on the strip, others are talking to one another. One girl sits down, other uses broad arm movements. Still talking a lot, girl writes on strip on both sides of hall. Lots of noise comes from a classroom--sounds like playground noise. I peeked in and found they were playing a basketball kind of game with teacher. One by one the cluster of kids go into the classroom, leaving only the boy in the hall looking at his paper. Phalanx of two girls walk down the hall.

8:46 Boy still in hall, writing on own paper as holding it against wall, studying it carefully. After he leaves, I got up and looked at the metal strip--it has a great deal of graffiti on it. The strip is used to hang up papers in the hall, but there are only a few papers--immediately next to two classrooms--on the entire strip.

8:47 Hall is empty. An older girl walks down the hall. It is a well lit hall.

Boy walks slowly down the hall, looks at me, and speeds up a bit. [*reactive effect?*]

8:51 Boy gets drink, then is joined by a second boy. They form phalanx and walk down the hall quietly. Two individual [*i.e., not socially involved*] kids in hall.

It was about this time that I made a comment in my personal notes that I was already bored with the hallway. Fortunately things got better before the day was over; the first hour or so was a fairly inactive time of the day for the hallway. I also learned to spend dead time examining the hallway's physical context and reflecting on what I had observed earlier.

The First Transition Window

Kids leave classroom, stand and drop books on floor loudly. I hear an adult voice scolding someone.

This is the beginning of a formal transition window, as defined in Chapter Five, that regularly occurred about 9:00 each morning. This was not as formal as usual, perhaps because of my

presence or because of the teacher involved. In my theoretical notes I noticed that this change in hallway behavior was "explosive" beyond what would be expected of a single classroom entering the hallway. Was it the quick pace of exiting the classroom that caused the "explosion?" I eventually concluded that it was the convergence of several classrooms simultaneously that accounted for this powerful effect.

The dropping of books loudly was something I saw several times, which almost seemed to be a reaction to the intensive controls on children's behavior during these formal periods. I never saw a child scolded for this behavior, which is surprising, but perhaps this is because the person dropping the books could always claim it was an accident. I do not believe the book dropping was ever accidental, but it would be difficult for me, or a teacher, to prove it.

The sitting and standing in the next field note was only briefly described. Later, after thoroughly examining the three basic social forms, I realized that when a line sat down in the hallway, as teachers sometimes permitted for a lengthy wait, the line formation was abandoned in favor of the sitting phalanx. Although a sitting line is possible, the long phalanx of youngsters sitting side by side against the wall is often the only variation of this social form regularly permitted in the teacher's presence during formal transitions.

8:56 Lots of kids in hall, sitting and standing. Another classroom opens and kids exit. I hear a child say, "He looks at everything I do" (about me?). At least four classrooms are changing. The kids who were seated now stand up. One child (AA girl--AA refers to African American) asks how much I got done. I show her my pad of paper. She says, "GAWWWLEE" (like Gomer on the Andy Griffith show). May have been same child who asked before.

I am certain that this girl was an individual I later designated "P.C." for "problem child." She was regularly in the hallway between class changes. This designation of problem child was provided by Ms. Deegan, who was one of her teachers. P.C. had been diagnosed as behavior disordered and previously had been institutionalized for this problem, then was released to the care of foster parents in this school district. It was hard for me to see her as a "problem child" because she did not seem all that uncontrolled; indeed she was almost a friend in her regular greetings and occasional chats as she roamed the hallway, sometimes for an hour or more each day. At the end of the study I asked one of her teachers why she was in the hallway so much of the time. I was told that she was sent to the principal's office when she acted up in class, but often she took "a lot of time" getting there, and administrators often were too busy to notice the delay in her arrival. I wondered if teachers and administrators may have overlooked her considerable time in the hallway as an alternative to disciplining her continually. Perhaps this was a way of adapting to her, I wrote in my personal notes. This also made me think of McLaren's (1980) study of middle school hallways where roaming gangs of youngsters dominated the hallways when classes were in session. The gangs entered classrooms at will and took over until they became bored with what was happening. Could the decision to let P.C. roam multiply at the middle grade level to the point McLaren describes? This seems unlikely in Preissleville, but could it happen elsewhere?

8:59 Cluster of two boys and some girls are being scolded by an adult, who says, "This has happened before." Boys leave and adult continues to talk to the girl. Little kids file into hall from outside door, in fairly straight line. Boys are in line next to boys, girls next to girls with few exceptions. As they walk down the hall, the line becomes less straight at the end away from the teacher, and a few kids at the end use exaggerated arm movements.

This separation of boys and girls in lines was common at all grade levels at Pellegrini elementary and has been noted by other researchers (e.g., Willis & Hofmann, 1975). Distance from the teacher was often a predictor of controlled behavior in the line, possibly because with greater distance misbehavior is less likely to be observed or more likely to be ignored because teachers are less likely to travel the distance to correct the behavior. In my interviews with teachers at the end of the study, several told me they tended to walk about halfway back in the line to be able to observe all the children for misbehavior.

Sixth-grade classes are changing again--so soon? Large cluster of about five boys. Next to them is a group of five girls in more or less a line, leaning against the wall. Girls start to talk and read graffiti on strip, begin to cluster as they discuss the graffiti.

9:03 One boy in large cluster taps another with a pencil. The two boys link fingers in a struggle. They begin talking to one other, and begin walking into the classroom.

This is a minor form of what Pellegrini (1989a, 1989b) identifies as rough-and-tumble play. One key to distinguishing rough-and-tumble play from a fight is that the interchange ends with continued social interaction. I noticed a great deal of what could be termed rough-and-tumble play, including quite a bit initiated by girls, in the hallways of Pellegrini elementary, but real fights were rare and brief. Beresin (1993) also notes that there was surprisingly little violence on the playground she studied, but there were "writhing games" (her designation for rough-and-tumble play) which, while appearing to be provocative, actually helped keep genuine violence in check.

Girls linger, talking to each other, then go into the room. Another long line of little kids go through the hall to outside door. A couple older kids smile and talk with little kids. This interchange between different age children is contrary to the rather strict maintenance of age hierarchies in peer culture suggested by Passuth (1987). I noticed interactions among children of very different ages on several occasions, although it is likely that this involved siblings or children well acquainted with one another.

In my theoretical notes I wondered if there was an underlying message in younger kids going through the older kids' hallway but the reverse being far less likely: that what younger children are learning is far too important to be interrupted by noise from outsiders. This idea did not hold up entirely when I discovered that older kids *did* occasionally go through the early elementary hallway, and their loud voices were rarely quieted by the teachers there.

9:06 Boy at drinking fountain, looks down my way. Drinks and moves his head side to side. It is an extended drink, then leaves 15 to 20 seconds later. A class enters the hall, in line. One boy tries to push another, the second knocks books out of first child's arms. Adult appears and kids stop. They line up against the wall, apparently waiting for the next class to exit so they can go into the room.

9:09 Kids are sitting down, some standing up, talking quietly, as two adults look on. Other class moves out in line, then waiting class goes in. Children of same gender are adjacent to one another in both of the lines.

In my methodology notes I mentioned that I should compare lining with teachers present with lining when teachers were not around. I asked myself if lines were straighter or quieter when teachers were nearby. I also wondered if teacher presence would affect clusters and phalanxes and if this would relate to school versus peer culture theory. When I later coded this methodological note, I said that this section should have been in the theoretical notes. Again, this underscores the difficulty of deciding in which category notes should be placed: this comment was methodological in that it is suggesting the need for orienting methods toward this end, but it was even more theoretical as it was a first step in a theory related to teacher presence and absence effects. It may be that this ambiguity is a result of the emergent design; the end cannot be envisioned at the beginning.

The End of the Window

9:10 Hall empty again. Two older boys come out of class, talk, one sits down on floor, the other sits down near but not next to the first. They both have books--apparently working on workbooks. A girl exits class and goes down the hall. I can hear the teacher in the classroom talking very loudly for a long time, as the boys are trying to work on their workbooks--they do not seem to be distracted by the loud voice, but I sure would be.

Children were sometimes sent into the hallway to do workbooks because they had not completed homework assignments or because they took longer to complete an assignment than their peers. I wondered sometimes if this was as much a reward as punishment, considering how much social activity occurred while the children worked on assignments, sometimes for lengthy periods of time. One child told me that he was sent to the hallway to do his work because he coughed quite often and disrupted other children's attention.

9:12 Two boys are near the drinking fountain talking, they leave after about five to ten seconds. Two boys in sixth grade area are still seated and working on books in hall. A boy exits from another class, sits in the hall and works. He lays on his stomach to do the work, about twelve feet from me, but ignores me as he does the work. I then see the boy on his stomach staring at me. Another boy studying smiles at me and goes back to work.

9:16 All three kids are in the hall still studying. Is this punishment or reward? All really seem to be studying.

It's pretty dull in the hall right now.

At this point and others, when there were gaps in the action, I took some methodological notes. I noted the difficulty of trying to look both ways down the hallway, yet the problem of missing a lot of information if I did not turn my head. I also commented on the difficulty of timing the length of clusters, but noted that the majority of clusters only lasted a few seconds, ten at most. I also commented on the role implication of sitting on the floor, noting that this distinguishes me from teachers and school authorities. I analyzed the hallway for lighting, electrical outlets, and placement for a videocamera. I decided the best level for a camera would be a child's eye height, to be as emic as possible. It might seem odd that I was already thinking about using the videocamera when originally I had not intended to begin filming until several weeks into the study. However, from just the first couple of hours of observing I was aware of how much data I was missing, especially, as I noted, during the explosions of activity, and had already concluded that beginning videotaping sooner was the only way to get a fuller data set. Girl comes down the hall, appears to have just arrived at school (has satchel). She talks briefly with the boy studying and goes into the classroom.

Thus far I have sat in about six places in the hallway.

9:21 I moved away from the sixth-grade end of the hall where the boys are studying, no immediate change in their behavior.

In my personal notes I mentioned how sixth graders, as a group, tended to come off as pompous and self-important in the hallway, in contrast with fifth graders who have initiated more conversations with me. I said I was sure *all* sixth graders were not egotistical at this school, but was amazed at how many seemed above it all. What I now wonder is, will the newly arrived fifth graders take on this elite role next year when the sixth grades move to the middle school? Is this attitude the result of relative placement in the school or inherent to sixth grade?

Drawings are posted on the strip next to [two fourth grade teachers'] doors.

Boy in hall says sometime inaudible (to me? to self?) and gets up to go into classroom.

9:28 Boy in hall looking in classrooms through the door window. He is sitting and moving, not working--he has no books. Apparently he is being punished? He eyes me, looking around the corner repeatedly. I guess we both wonder what the other is up to! Still sitting, he has a satchel but is not working.

9:31 Male adult moves from class to principal's office.

Dead time.

I see through the door that kids are next to the door inside the [teacher's] classroom. Teacher turns the handle and opens the door, kids file out in line silently. The line stops and several kids sit on the floor with their books. Eventually the majority sit down, a couple kids bang their books by dropping them. They are all still very silent. The adult looks at them. Students leave another class, then a third class empties, and the line from that class goes next to the seated kids.

This sequence of behaviors, leaving the room, waiting in line, and then entering another room, is initiated by a cue from the teacher. In this case the cue is turning the handle and opening the door. At other times teachers use a verbal cue. This cue initiates a sequence of behaviors that fits Hall's (1974) event theory as well as Lewin's (1936) topological psychology theory. There is a physical reality in the sequence of behaviors, but similarly there is a psychological level of describing what occurs. The children leave a space defined by the subject matter the instructor teaches in what is a departmentalized grade. They enter a neutral space, clearly marking the transition between topics. This is still heavily controlled space, as the teacher carefully watches and disciplines deviance. This neutral space generally involves waiting, which communicates the importance of the service to be received--the teaching--as well as the control by those who enforce the necessity of waiting (Schwartz, 1975). The end of the wait, signaled either by a teacher or by the exiting of children from the destination room, involves moving in line to that classroom. In topological psychology, this sequence would be diagramed with an egg-shaped diagram, with the classroom of origin at one end and the classroom of destination at the other. Intervening physical and psychological steps would be dividers in the oval, barriers to cross to accomplish the goal of entering the next classroom.

9:35 Kids from other classes are talking quietly, but not the seated kids. Other kids go to empty class, but the first class is still seated in the hall. Teacher scolds child about walking on books. Kids quiet, only two are standing. Adult stands in hall monitoring. Some of the

girls are drawing and other kids watch them. A boy taps his pencil. All but two kids sit against the wall. One AA girl smiles at me. A girl writes on a pad of paper, "What are you doing?" and shows it to me. I write on my pad of paper, "I'm just watching and learning about kids." A girl talks to the adult, but no one else talks. They read what I wrote, a nearby boy laughs, and the adult says "He's from the university and Mr. Martin (inaudible)." A boy asked me if I take kids' names. I say "No, I'm just a student and I don't tell on anyone." This boy, AA, is the only child talking.

9:44 Hall empty now except for two boys still studying in sixth grade area.

Dead time.

One of the boys studying crawls down the hall to a boy from another class. They lie down, head to head but opposite each other like this: >----O O----< and talk quietly. Both are sixth graders but are supposed to be in different classes. They continue to talk quietly.

9:46 Little children come in outside door and go the length of the hall in line. Teacher stops at first post to allow children to come in the outside doorway and line up inside. As they move down the hall, boys talk to each other, one drops to the floor and does a push up, then quickly resumes walking with the others.

Both Kalekin-Fishman (1987) and Carere (1987) describe how children bring peer culture into classroom activities. In this incident school culture in the form of strong teacher control, symbolized in the line, is given an infusion of peer culture as the child does the push up. But he apparently realizes this cannot last long without negative consequences and quickly resumes his position in the school culture formation, the line. This infusion of peer culture into school culture, as noted in Chapter One, is not always a detriment but can actually work positively for the child and task of the school, suggest Carere and Kalekin-Fishman. Here a child, obviously bored with the line, releases energy and brings novelty to the situation. Novelty (specifically social sedentary behavior) can increase attention to academic tasks (Pellegrini & Davis, 1993).

Older boys lying on the floor are still talking to each other. A boy states, apparently to me, "Welcome to the classroom" as he enters the room. Kids are coming from center area. Fourth graders move to [teacher's] room. Cluster of five girls are talking at the doorway to classroom. I hear yelling in classroom. Three boys cluster and talk for about five to ten seconds. Two boys lying in the hall are briefly joined by a third, who remains standing, then the boy leaves, and the two are again writing and talking on the floor.

9:50 Teacher arrives at [teacher's] room (no teacher in there before?). Girl stands and talks to boys lying down, but briefly. Girl says "If you don't stop making that noise, you-all's going to (inaudible)." Girl says, "You all said go ahead, didn't you?" (repeats this several times).

Morning Break

This is about the time that the grand transition window usually began, lasting until well after 10:00. The window seems less grand in this description than it was some days when it was quite overwhelming. Perhaps teachers were controlling more today because of my presence. Or perhaps I was so overwhelmed that I did not record those feelings. There *were* days when it was quieter and more controlled than others. What made the difference between a quiet break and the noisy, personally overwhelming break? The number of converging classes entering the hall within a small time was a major factor, but not the only one. Differences in teacher control and activity level of the kids were other influences. One teacher suggested it was the phases of the moon, while another blamed TV shows from the night before. I never was satisfied I had identified all the influences, but I have serious doubts about the teachers' suggestions.

9:52 [Teacher] class exits (they were only in the classroom two minutes--may not have been the entire class in the room). Sixth-grade boys still lying down, may be talking about the assignment. A boy carries a trash can down the hall. A line of kids comes down the hall and stops next to me. I move and the line leader goes to the place I was and stops. One child half sits and writes.

Another class files by on the other side of the hall, and then the first group moves into classroom.

The highway metaphor was mentioned in my theoretical notes for the first day of observing. I recalled observing downtown Atlanta traffic from the thirtieth floor of a hotel room for several

hours, and the patterns of the hallway looked much the same, though not quite as mechanistic and precise as traffic flow. The children I interviewed readily agreed with the highway metaphor and filled it out even further than I had thought possible. I observed children, as they normally did, passing on the right side of the hallway. Is this an early socialization for driving? Or simply a handy norm to avoid collisions? Do British children stay to the left in hallways? Yet this norm of passing on the right was occasionally violated, particularly by phalanxes that usually went down the middle of the hallway. Phalanxes were more likely to break apart to pass by another phalanx going the opposite direction, rather than move to the right. Then each phalanx usually would resume. Perhaps this suggests that lines tend to conform to social norms of adults--highway norms--and phalanxes usually do not. This in turn would indicate the likelihood that lines represent school culture and phalanxes are more peer culture.

A large group of kids near the middle section of the building quickly dissipates. Many kids are at the drinking fountain. A child asks how much I wrote, I show her my note pad, and she says "Wow!" A boy asks, "Am I in there?" I don't answer, but say "I'm just writing what people do, but I don't tell on you." Two girls stand and talk, two boys walk and talk, then stop and stand and talk.

10:00 Two boys on the floor are now joined by two other boys, then one leaves and the newcomer sits down. Girls are also standing nearby. All of them leave. Two sixth-grade girls near the outside door, sitting and talking for a minute or two. I hear a loud screech, like blowing on grass in your hand. Children go out the outside door. Sixth-grade girl appears ready to hit another girl with books, brings them down, but does not hit her (pretense). A boy says, "Boy, that's the first time I've seen a grownup sit on the floor in the hall." I say, "Yep, I'm just watching and studying."

In my personal notes I described how I wanted to talk with kids more, but realized the kids were very conscious that this was violating school rules and a teacher might be looking. I wanted more student perspectives, not just my own, but realized that detailed conversations would have to wait until much later in the study. I would have to settle for quick comments by kids for now. From some student comments I wondered if they expected me to eat lunch with them in the cafeteria, but since no adult had invited me, as had occurred at the schools I observed for earlier studies, I felt reluctant to ask. I recorded in my personal notes the suspicion that eating with kids probably might even be a detriment because I would not want to eat with faculty and to decline might be an affront.

Boy makes screeching sound again; another child says, "Oh, ___" to him. Four girls cluster, one moves on as three slow down and one pulls on pant leg. Sixth-grade boy jumps up slightly as he walks, then stops jumping as he goes by me. There is a cluster of five girls for only ten seconds, but three of them are talking to the adult, others linger nearby listening. Five girls in phalanx or near phalanx, taking up whole width of hallway as they move to class.

10:09 Girl pushes boy, he moves away, he starts to push back, then doesn't and they walk down the hall side by side.

This is one of many cross-sex rough-and-tumble episodes observed. Often boys initiated rough-and-tumble, and girls would act as if they disliked the attention. I am sure sometimes they did dislike it. However, girls also initiated cross-sex rough-and-tumble activity, and only rarely did boys react negatively although they often pretended to hit back. Later in the study, as I watched early elementary children on the playground, I noted the high level of affectionate interactions, such as holding hands, arms around each other, both within each sex and across the sexes. I saw less rough-and-tumble at the earlier grades. These reverse in the later elementary grades, with more rough-and-tumble by both girls and boys and less affectionate actions. This suggests that perhaps rough-and-tumble replaces affectionate behavior for several years. Why? One factor, certainly, is that the peer culture frowns on open affection, adding sexual connotations to either within sex or across sex affectionate touches; these connotations were mentioned several times during later interviews. On the other hand, the feigned aggression in rough-and-tumble allows touch and interaction without sexual connotations, and thus is permitted, perhaps encouraged, within peer culture.

Cluster of three sixth-grade girls about three feet from me, talking and ignoring me. This lasts about five to ten seconds. Phalanx of three girls, other girls, and one boy. Girl pushes AA boy. Three stand and talk to each other. Two girls stand and talk, point to drawings,

then girl and boy walk. One girl asks, "Where you goin'?" Then one leaves and sees another girl and asks her the same question. Loud talking by two boys. A girl runs.

10:14 Line up of kids. They stop at the post, then move forward (on cue?). Teacher tells children, "SHH," as they go to the next class. The kids are not going to her class, but possibly they may be in another of her classes.

Again, this sequencing of behavior is amenable to Lewin's topological analysis. An additional step, both psychological and physical, is added to the lining, cuing, exiting the room, moving in line, waiting, cuing, and finally entering the second room sequence. This additional hurdle to cross is the cue to stop at a given spot in the hall, the line quiets and becomes straight and motionless, then it proceeds down the hallway. I noticed this additional step many times, particularly as the earlier grades walked down the main hallway studied, but occasionally with older grades as well. This extra step reinforces the teacher's position of control. When the children tightly lined up and were quiet, the line proceeded down the hallway as it had before. Perhaps this procedure was used to ensure all children were accounted for.

10:16 Another class is lined up against the hall wall. More or less a line from one class to another. About four boys are looking at me and my notes. A teacher comes up and says to them, "Where are you supposed to be? This is bathroom break," and they quickly move on. A girl waves at me and smiles; I smile back.

10:19 A boy tries to read my notes. Two boys running, an adult says "Hey _____, walk," in a low voice.

One very common activity in the hallway is teacher monitoring and correction. Most of the time monitoring is by watching and correction is by verbal statement, but there are many other methods used for each. These were listed and discussed during interviews with children.

Break Ends

About five boys ask me how much I've done. I show them the pad and they say, "GOLLL." Girl rubs shoulder of boy, and he makes a threatening gesture. Teacher says, "You want some coffee?" [*I shook my head no--another way of distinguishing myself from many other adults.*] Boy standing near says, "He's just studying kids." I say, "Yeah, I'm just seeing what kids do in halls." Two boys see me, talk to each other, and laugh.

10:22 Fifth-grade AA boy and AA girl talking loudly at doorway. Adult says, "Are you supposed to be doing that?" and nudges them into the classroom. Boy gets a drink alone and goes to room.

I have often recorded the racial designation "AA" for African American children and assumed all others were white. At the time I was thinking that perhaps racial differences might be significant in hallway behavior. I am still uncertain if this made a difference. As I reread many of my field notes, I am impressed with how often there were very few differences, although in interviews several children thought there was less adherence to traditional gender roles by African American girls.

10:25 Paper wad is thrown into hall from entryway to classrooms. AA boy retrieves it.

Boy sitting on floor just outside classroom door. AA girl in hall told to go to her seat. Girl says, "She's comin'" (referring to another teacher). Teacher tells child [*probably P.C.*] to go to the principal and tells other teacher, "She needs some time out." The teacher who was my student (Deegan) tells me, "You should watch her (the AA child); she'll keep you busy all day."

In my personal notes I wondered if this comment by Ms. Deegan would make P.C. think I was a hallway monitor. I also said I thought P.C. was cute, but also empathized with teachers who had to cope with disruptive behavior in a room full of children.

Fifth graders are very quiet as they come out of [teacher's] class, they line up on opposite side of hall. No talking, but AA boy at end of row drops his books loudly (I think this happened before as he changed class--dropping books and standing at end of line).

During interviews many children remarked that they preferred the position at the end of the line because the teacher was less likely to see what they were doing. This contrasts with the findings of Best (1983, pp. 75-76) who emphasized that children saw being at the front of the line as analogous to winning. Best noted that children often desire the front of the line as they go to recess so they get first choice of the equipment and fields available. In contrast, the line going to a classroom does not provide any such reward for being first. Best (p. 20) noted that second grade boys learn *not* to be

first in line to leave the playground; at the beginning of the year they compete to be first in line to return to the building, but later come to stay out of line to prolong their time on the playground.

The teacher mentioned in the above note impressed me as very harsh the first day of the study, while my former student seemed more lenient. However, the next day of observation Ms. Deegan was quite strict, and I saw a caring side of the other teacher. This clearly showed me not to make too many assumptions about teachers from one day of observing. I tried to suspend global judgments on teachers for awhile.

10:32 Adult woman sweeps hallway, goes around me--I offer to move, but she says it's not needed.

AA girl stands at middle section, then enters restroom. I wondered if she was sent to the principal, so I went down closer to restroom. She looked around the corner, then ducked into the restroom. I see another girl in restroom from hallway. They begin playing a game looking around the corner at me then ducking back. I move just outside the inside entryway, not far from the principal's office and near the restroom. Through doorway to hall I see the girl gets drink, keeps looking back at me, then looks around the corner into the classroom. She then comes back and walks past me and sits down at the far end of the bench where I'm seated. She looks at her hands.

10:39 She moves to another bench. I see the other girl leave the restroom and go to class. The first girl is crawling on the floor. This girl from the restroom is the same one who was labeled a problem child (P.C.) by Deegan. An adult male tells her, "_____ is looking for you," and he says to me, "She's one of our problems". Passing teacher asks, "Is she being a pill again?" The male (I found out later he is the assistant principal) tells me she was in his office one time and dialed 911. [*This makes perfect sense; that's the number to call when in trouble.*] I notice the art room is across from the seat, and I see a boy and girl wrestling in the room.

10:43 I moved back into the hallway. P.C. is back in hall at the drinking fountain, putting her hands in the water. She asks me, "You doing this in all schools?" I say, "No, just this one." "You put bad stuff in there?" I answer, "I try to put everything."

Several children asked me the same thing; was I observing in all the schools or just this one? Perhaps the question was just an idle one, but I wonder if there was more to it. Was there a sense among children that their school was constantly being evaluated and compared with other schools in the district or state? The local newspaper sometimes reported the academic standing of local schools in comparison with others in the state. Does this sense of competition filter down to children? Is competition with other schools the best motivation for children's learning?

10:46 Little kids are at the outside door; they are told to be quiet as they go down the hall. Two older boys are at the drinking fountain--they talk briefly (ten seconds) then go to room after brief drink. Little kids walk down the hall silently. AA boys talk quietly, walk around me, and one pretends I tripped him by falling to the floor. Children sit on long bench, and art room empties (they are apparently waiting to enter the art room). Teacher talks to kids on bench. 10:55 I saw little children spontaneously form a line. Line leader was a boy, followed by six girls, six boys, one girl, and four AA boys.

Spontaneous line formation, apart from a teacher being present, is extremely rare. My hunch is that the children expected a teacher to appear, so they formed the inevitable line. When older children appear to form a line spontaneously, there is almost always a child monitor who observes those who fail to line up and reports them to the teacher. This underscores the difference between most of the lines in schools and the ordinary lines among adults: adult lines determine priority of service, while children's lines enhance adult monitoring and control of child behavior. Most of the children's lines at Pellegrini elementary were more like those found in prisons, mental hospitals, and the military in that they were used to control movement patterns, not determine priority of service (Goetz, 1975, p. 248; Jackson, 1990, p. 14). The only exception to this at Pellegrini elementary was the lunchroom line, and lines at the drinking fountain and restroom, where first children in line were served first.

11:00 to 11:07 I ate lunch.

Another Transition Window

11:08 Kids left class, almost exploded out. P.C. says to me, "Hi mister," and several other girls nearby laughed. Her teacher, Mrs. Deegan, frowned at her when she said it.

11:10 A girl and boy asked me where I work. I say I go to school. "What do you write?" I answer, "What you kids do." "Like a report?" I answer, "Yes."

11:12 A boy throws a pencil in the air. Several children are sitting or standing in the hall next to the wall; some are looking at the drawings, and eventually go into the room. Two girls are talking loudly, and a girl says to a boy, "You little scrubby mutt," as he goes to a separate classroom.

I am continually amazed at how children can be loving and wonderful at times, yet at times be vicious to one another. Name calling was denounced by several children in later interview groups, with several emphasizing how deeply hurt they felt when called names. Yet some of the same children who talked about this hurt were quite willing to call others terrible names. This is a puzzling aspect of peer culture that I do not understand. Perhaps calling names is simply a means of establishing hierarchy. When I asked the kids during interviews why people called names, they tended to say such people were trying to be boss or were just mean. I found it interesting that in none of my interview groups did one child ridicule another face to face, yet occasionally they used derogatory names for children not in the group as well as for teachers.

I spent a few minutes drawing a map of the hallway.

This map was the first of several I drew attempting to get a better understanding of the architecture of the hallway. I mentioned in my methodology notes that the map given to me by Mr. Martin was not very accurate, probably because it was drawn for different purposes than my own. I redrew maps again on subsequent days to help me recall locations where I videotaped and compare the results of those locations.

The Lunch Transitions

11:39 Kids are talking in the hallway, and a nearby teacher says, "I'm looking for line rules." They immediately quiet down and then move to the next area.

I did some more work on my map.

11:45 [Teacher] class leaves, apparently for lunch. Glynn class is already gone. [Teacher] has her class line up in the hall against the wall. She then says "Let's go" and the kids slowly proceed. The children stop and stare into the window of the art room.

11:48 Powell's class comes back from the library apparently (several kids have library books under arms). They are following the [teacher] class.

11:50 [Teacher] class goes to lunch, scattering across the hallway, the adult with them shows little concern. The kids stand at the doorway to center of building talking quietly.

Some leave the line to get drinks and go to restroom. Some talking quietly in line.

Teachers varied from one another in how strictly they expected children to maintain the rules of the hall, and they sometimes varied from day to day. Perhaps the preceding teacher was more permissive than usual because I was in the hallway for the first time. I recall one day when a teacher said the children were "out of control" but what I observed was the teacher enforcing more rules more consistently than usual.

11:52 [Teacher] class proceeds to lunch apparently.

11:53 Announcements made over public address system.

11:54 Class leaves [teacher] room--some running and not in line. Boy looks like he's hitting a girl; she says, "Stop that." Another boy looks over my shoulder and says, "Don't forget to put 'boy and girl fussing.'" I say, "Ok, I'll do that." Girl hits another girl lightly; then they walk on.

11:56 Child says, "You been writin' here all day?" I say, "Yep, just watching and writing what I see." Sixth-grade girl is lying down on floor, using wall as pillow. She's been there several minutes. A couple of other students are standing nearby. One student jumps over the girl that is lying down. A girl looks over my shoulder and asks what I'm doing. I tell her I'm just watching and writing down what I see. Girl is reading what I write. She laughs; another girl asks me what I wrote, laughs, and all leave for Deegan's classroom.

12:03 Child says, "You watchin' how we walk up and down halls and stuff?" I say yes, she says "Oh" and moves on. Deegan holds AA girl's arm and escorts her to the principal's office.

It is unfortunate that much of the touching between teachers and students I observed was related to discipline. A colleague of mine who is a professor in teacher education advocates that teachers

never touch their children in any way to avoid accusations of impropriety. I understand his fears of litigation, but I think his reaction is a bit extreme. I tried to follow his suggestion at the beginning of the study, but when a fourth-grade boy spontaneously came up to me in the hallway and hugged me, I felt it would be cruel to refuse him. If the only touches received are linked with discipline and punishment, what are children learning? In contrast, note the warmth displayed by the male sixth-grade teacher at 12:08; he sometimes even put his arm around boys as they walked down the hallway.

12:05 Sixth-grade class goes to the hallway. A boy says, "We're not children." (Teacher's) class leaves, quietly, but scatter without line formation. Boy moves toward another boy, jumps and grunts--he either faked or actually hit the other boy.

12:08 Cluster of five boys with male sixth-grade teacher, talking together, sort of like buddies. Child asks me, "You gonna put this in the paper?" [*I assumed he meant newspaper.*] "No, I just study what kids do." "You gonna be a teacher?" I say, "Yeah, but not here." He asks, "We're that bad?" I smile and say, "No, I just won't be teaching [here]." The exchange is terminated as he quickly moves on.

Situations like this demanded quick decisions about my role. The question, "You gonna be a teacher?" was given a positive response rather than more fully explaining that I already was a college teacher, because I did not want the children to put me in a teacher's role. It was literally the case that I hoped to be a teacher in the future, continuing to teach at the college level. An indication of this child's perspective of my role is also clear in this interchange--I was seen as an evaluator of children's behavior. I thought that to be counterproductive; I did not want the evaluation role of teachers and administrators. This accounts for my negative response at the end of the interaction. Yet, as I write these comments, I find I am now entering that role, as I evaluate what happened in the halls of Pellegrini elementary. I have to evaluate children's behavior and statements in the attempt to discover their emic view of the world.

12:12 [Teacher] sends class into hallway, not in line formation, scattering across hallway, some low talking, and teacher is with class.

12:13 Boys skips down the hallway. Children are sitting and standing just outside a doorway of a classroom. Fifth-grade girl leans against a post--she's been there several minutes. Cluster of two girls and boy that eventually moves to a classroom together talking.

12:17 Line of kids talking but basically staying in line.

12:18 [Teacher] class leaves, scatters across the hallway. Boy runs and teacher calls him back. "You having a problem walking down the hall?" He says, "no." She talks about stumbling.

12:19 Three girl phalanx talking quietly.

12:20 Hall empty.

12:25 I got a chair [*because of discomfort*]. I wonder if I will have to shift from chair to floor throughout the study.

The last sentence could have been placed in the personal notes file. I did debate whether using the floor or chair was the better position in my methodology notes for the day. The emphasis was on separating my role of observer from teachers, but I noted that my very casual dress (blue jeans, tennis shoes, and casual shirt) probably did that sufficiently. I decided to use a pillow to sit on the floor the next day and then to return to the use of a chair thereafter because it was the most comfortable way of sitting, although I also stood to observe occasionally.

One of the greatest difficulties with using the personal notes file was that when the personal comments were separated from field notes, they were decontextualized and did not make much sense unless reasons were provided for those reactions using field notes. I often wondered if a separate personal note was needed because of a single statement of my reaction. I decided that in general I would keep personal comments in the field notes file if they were brief, while extended notes would go into the personal comments file. Another possibility would have been to simply copy the context from the field notes file to the personal comments file. Some qualitative computer programs can make linkages between different notes in different files, which has obvious advantages. For awhile I abandoned the personal notes file because of my difficulty in drawing the fine line between a brief comment and a lengthy one, and because I did not make many personal comments at the time. I still have some mixed feelings about whether personal notes need to be

separate from other kinds of notes; cannot personal reactions be infused in the other kinds of notes--feelings about methodologies, feelings about theories, and feelings about events as they are recorded--and perhaps just be given a special code so they can be quickly located? There is no field note dogma, and perhaps I was too tied to Corsaro's and Strauss' convention of four kinds of notes. Later in the study I began using the personal notes section again, particularly when I wanted to do longer personal reflections on events, methods, and theories.

Students are going to [teacher] class--not really a line, scattered through hall. Two AA sixth-grade boys phalanx talking, whisper "popcorn."

12:27 Line of kids scatters, some making a line next to the wall while others get drinks. Apparently they are coming back from lunch. When they leave line for drinks, they return to same line position. Teacher tells stragglers, "We're waiting on ya'll to come down."

12:30 The line is completed and they move to class.

Lunch lines were always alphabetical, unlike most other lines in the main hallway studied. Thus line position was carefully preserved and there was little contesting of line position, such as Best (1983, pp. 76, 99) observed.

12:31 Another group forms a line against the wall. I see another group line up against the wall. Two boys are talking, one raises his voice. Two lines are observed going opposite direction--a rare event, as usually only one line is in the hallway at one time.

12:34 Child asks, "Is that a pen?" I say yep. "Well, watch it, one pen broke this morning." I showed him some ink stains on my fingers. Another boy stops, sees my papers and asks, "You wrote on every one of those?" I say yep, and he says "sheesh" and moves on.

12:35 Class lines up against the wall. Girl asked if I had lunch. I said I had a sandwich. A line moves very slowly, and the teacher whispers. The line breaks up, part of which becomes a three girl phalanx. Some children walk faster to bring the line back together because of large spaces that have developed.

12:37 A boy slaps the metal post to make a ringing sound as he walks by it. Two sixth grade girls run fast the whole length of the hall.

12:40 AA boy very slowly walks down the hall, then swings around the post. He keeps walking back and stops next to me. He puts his arm on my shoulder and asks, "What you doin'?" I tell him I'm writing down what people do. He looks at my paper, says "OK" and goes to classroom.

12:42 Several kids are running just outside the inside doors, then go to the restroom. Two boys stop to form a line at the first doorway (the Chapter One classroom). This location has been the place almost all lines have stopped when they return from lunch. Probably this is because it is next to the restroom and drinking fountain. Teacher cues them to proceed, they do so fairly quietly and orderly, some walking a bit fast.

The Chapter One entryway is a key reference point for lines in this hallway. I also observed indications that it was taboo space for many children, as they sometimes would move away from that entryway slightly as they passed by. One boy who went to classes in that area regularly crawled on the floor to avoid the camera picturing him entering. I recall the stigma of youngsters that were in special education classes when I was a kid.

12:45 Two boys in the hall talking and walking together. One asks the other if he has to "puke." He says no. They get a drink and come back. They talk and pretend to chase one another momentarily.

This brief event brings to mind a long latent memory from my childhood. In first or second grade the youngsters in my class used the "number one" and "number two" designations for restroom activities. However, we creatively added additional numbers for vomiting, flatulence, and other bodily activities for which one might need the restroom.

12:47 Another class lines up across from drinking fountain and restroom. Two boys sitting down, AA girl pretends to hit them on the head. Girl touches AA boy on head, and he pretends to hit back reflexively. Girl goes through motions of hitting a ball with a bat. Hallway is a bit noisy. Two girls holding each other as if struggling, then they stop (clearly play fighting) [*rough-and-tumble play*]. Teacher tells them to go. They spread out, not in strict line. Teacher talks to them. They walk very quickly.

11:50 A line comes through inner entryway talking, spread out, no lining up. Most go to Deegan class, others go to [another teacher]. Several girls wave at me (has happened

repeatedly throughout the morning). One starts to stop and look (the girl who looked at notes earlier) but teacher's presence (Deegan) encourages her to move on apparently. Deegan has more stern appearance than before. Boy asks, "What's that word?" as he looks at my pad. I tell him the word and tell him his writing is probably better than mine. He shakes his head and moves on.

11:55 Boy chases another boy back toward class. First says, "Get back there," and tries to hit him with a pencil. Boy chased smiles, then turns and again goes toward outside door. AA boy kicks another AA child. Both have expressions of anger; then one goes to classroom and kicker smiles. Girl pushes boy. P.C. asks me if I'll be here long. I say yes, until after she leaves. She has look of amazement and asks if I ate lunch. I said yes and she says, "That's good." AA girl rubs against boy as they pass opposite ways. Boy turns and says "Hey!" (angry). Teacher scolds boy.

The kind concern of children about my welfare was interesting; it almost seemed as if they thought I was a forty-year-old (plus) child. Although P.C. had been diagnosed behavior disordered and institutionalized, she was also concerned about others' needs. Unfortunately most of the teachers with whom she had problems probably never saw this side of her. It makes me wonder if the problem educating P.C. was just a poor fit between what the school demanded and offered and the personal attributes of P.C. more than maladjustment on P.C.'s part. Are we failing such children?

Also in this segment a girl initiates an altercation, a boy responds, and he receives a scolding from the teacher. This was not an unusual event at Pellegrini elementary. As noted in the previous chapter, misbehavior by girls was much more likely to be ignored, a finding readily affirmed by every group of children interviewed. Regardless of whether this is justified by teacher and student assertions that misbehavior of boys tends to escalate more than girls' misbehavior, the injustice boys perceive from this differential treatment probably serves to alienate some from the educational process.

After Lunch

1:00 AA boy rubs against white girl as passes her going same way. She says "hey." Boy stops in path of another boy. Second boy rubs shoulders as they pass opposite way. First looks back and smiles.

1:02 Boy stands in hall leaning on wall. Another boy comes up and they run together to class. AA boy reaches and touches child, looks back and smiles. Two girls walk to drinking fountain side by side talking until teacher comes out and they stop talking. Boys walking together; one pushes other with side. "Hey stop," second says; "I ain't gonna do nothin," first says, and they continue walking down hall side by side. AA boy has rolls of toilet paper and juggles them and talks (to self?) as walks down the hall. Another AA boy carries trash can, and AA girl carries trash can too.

In my personal notes I wondered if this was socialization for working class occupations. I hoped that the African American kids doing these jobs was just happenstance. Future observations proved that it was; white kids took out the trash too.

1:07 Girl in hall with bag of ice. Looks at AA boy, puts head against wall smiling, then walks with boy part way down hall, both laughing. They stop and then resume walking together. He stops to pull pant leg, and she waits for him.

This mixed sex grouping was somewhat unusual in the hallway. It is possible that they were sent out to obtain the ice together. The between-sex antipathy of middle childhood continues to be a mystery to me, perhaps just a perennial norm perpetuated by peer culture and other broader cultural influences.

1:10 Two girls in hallway with books and pencils studying. One talks to self as she writes. There is a line at drinking fountain. Adult "shsh"ing them. This is repeated. They are standing near inside doorway, then move to bench, but most are standing.

This quieting of children in line was often practiced by all grade levels except sixth- grade sections. Often these older youngsters were allowed to be quite noisy as they moved down the hall, even when their teachers were with them. Teachers at other grade levels complained about this in interviews, but they usually did not confront any of the sixth-grade students. Children at earlier grade levels also noted this differential treatment. I wondered if the differences with sixth graders

were because the teachers were simply more permissive than other teachers or if hierarchical dominance played a part. Because they were the oldest age group of children, about to leave elementary school, were they given special privileges or did they take on a special role? Or did age have nothing to do with it? Did some teachers fear the sixth graders?

1:14 Kids moved from near inside door back to middle section of building. Apparently they just went to entryway to get drinks and use restroom.

This was a regular practice in the hallway. Although each classroom in the early elementary wing had a built-in restroom, teachers often preferred to bring their classes to the larger dual restrooms in this hallway. This practice added to the traffic in the main hallway studied and occasionally produced a bottleneck for other groups in the hallway. Yet it continued because of the greater efficiency of two restrooms with multiple facilities in each, in contrast with a single restroom in each of the early elementary rooms. The latent message in this practice, as well as other teachers hurrying children out of the restroom was that the restroom was not a place for casual conversation or social activity, but only for bodily functions. Sometimes female teachers entered boys' restrooms to enforce this hurrying.

Sixth-grade AA boy and girl seen before walking together back to class, still laughing occasionally.

I TAKE RESTROOM BREAK. I asked Mr. Martin where he wanted me to use restroom and he recommended several adult restrooms, including the restroom of his office.

Mr. Martin's offer to let me use his restroom was also apparently extended to faculty. This appeared to me to display an egalitarian openness toward faculty, an opinion expressed in my personal notes.

1:30 Several kids wave and say "hello." I hear "Flight of the Bumblebee" at the end of the hall near outside door. Pretty dead about now.

1:35 Two girls go to restroom to get water for cups apparently. Cluster of three girls at drinking fountain lasts about 20 to 30 seconds, talking. Two girls go back to class, third goes toward principal's office--holding nose, probably nose bleed.

1:38 Girl goes from Powell room to restroom. [Teacher] has had several kids go to restroom for water in cups. AA boy goes from drinking fountain to Powell's room. Big boy with Georgia printed on his shirt in hall a lot as was P.C. this morning. Two more kids from Powell class in hall. Another girl from Powell class goes to restroom.

1:40 Janitorial staff talking and doing some work, say another staff person is falling down on the job (not cleaning enough apparently). A girl from [teacher] class goes to restroom. AA girl from Powell class returns. Almost immediately another girl leaves for drink. Two boys at drinking fountain, talking and waving arms. They look at my notes and giggle. These three kids return to [teacher]'s classroom.

1:45 Boy in doorway peeks around for second or third time to wave.

1:46 Another child leaves Powell room to go to [teacher] room. Two boys go from sixth-grade room to drinking fountain. Sixth grade teacher sees them and says, "I want you to go to (inaudible)". Girl at restroom shows adult her mouth, and adult puts arm around and says keep your tongue off it (apparently a tooth had come out).

1:49 Sixth-grade boys sitting on floor talking to two other boys. They also sit down across hall from one another, and all have conversation. Moderate level of talking, not quiet talk. Two boys at drinking fountain talking as getting drink.

Among adults drinking fountains, and perhaps to a lesser extent restrooms, are frequently places to interact. Children know these norms and try to follow them when teachers are not around. It seems rather condescending to forbid children at least limited opportunities to socialize in this manner, even while teachers in the same context interact with one another. Drinking fountains are interesting social contexts. I am surprised no systematic studies have been done about them, and they are only tangentially mentioned in a handful of studies about schools.

AA puts arms on shoulders of other child and pretends to kick the other in the groin; second just stands and walks away.

1:53 Four sixth-grade boys still sitting on floor and talking. Other kids, fourth graders, are in hall. They are playing a game: one white boy holds up hand, AA tries to knock it down, as first moves hand out of way. They do this for ten to fifteen seconds.

Afternoon Window

1:55 Lining up near Powell doorway along wall. One plopped notebooks on floor. Soon he picked them up and carried them to class. One sixth-grade girl pretends to hit another while humming. Phalanx of three boys; they meet boy coming opposite way, and they punch one another playfully as they pass.

1:58 Lining up near my chair, so I moved out of way. Two or three kids look at my notes. Boy kicks girl in bottom playfully. Line up against wall two deep, sort of phalanx. P.C. pretends to write on my paper. I do not react. AA boy says, "She's crazy." Line next to wall at Deegan room moving and spread out so talking can occur more easily. They move into classroom. Child asks "What you doin?" and I respond, "I'm just trying to learn, to see what happens in the hall."

2:02 Group leaves [teacher] classroom, orderly in line. Stop at entry way to middle area. Not straight line. Moving around but not really clusters because not engaged by talking or looking, staying in proximity with one another.

This is the first indication of trying to define clusters more precisely. Merely being in proximity does not define either the phalanx or cluster, as proximity can be purely the result of chance. I recall numerous times when children walked down the hallway side by side, but they were not really in a social formation because there was no communication. As noted in this field note, two criteria besides proximity were used to define clusters and phalanxes: the children must be communicating with one another either through talking, having eye contact, or touching that is clearly not accidental. The eye contact is difficult to determine without precise measuring instruments in a laboratory setting, thus facing might be a better descriptor--facing one another for what appears to be interaction.

In my theoretical notes I attempted some preliminary definitions of clusters, phalanxes, and lines, including some of the preceding components. I also struggled with how close people had to be to define something as a social formation. I later found this varied by number of people in the hallway--with more people, less distance denoted a social formation. I thought that perhaps the line was school culture, the cluster was peer culture, and the phalanx was a combination of the two. However, on meeting with several of my committee members a few weeks afterward, I was reminded that phalanxes of teens and children were quite common in shopping malls where there was *no* school culture.

Three boys standing near me seem unsure if they should talk. AA boy bumps into him as he passes, then they scatter. P.C. pushes AA boy without getting a reaction. She puts her hand in the boy's face.

I credit P.C. for helping children habituate to my presence; her breaking the rules with me around showed other youngsters that I would not get them into trouble.

Two lines pass me at the same time, each going the opposite way. "Do you know our names?" I respond, "No, but I wouldn't tell on you anyway."

2:06 Much moving around of kids as line up at middle doorway. Three boys still nearby, talking; girl comes by and talks to them. Boy says I'm writing about them. Girl says no, but then comes to look at my notes. She is watching me. Four boys in two phalanxes talking and singing. Boy briefly runs. Girl is still watching me write. Boys are spread out across the hall. Male sixth-grade teacher is with three boys talking together as they go down the hall. Phalanx of four girls move to line formation as they come near me. Boy runs past me, then girls; all run in phalanx down the hallway.

Running phalanxes are rare and almost always become a race rather than maintain their social form; competition may encourage children to break rank rather than stay side by side in the phalanx. The phalanx is inherently a cooperative social formation.

2:11 Two boys in phalanx making dance steps and in a low voice something like singing (possibly rap). Line comes out of Deegan classroom. Three boys are with Deegan; she says, "Trouble at the end of the line." AA girl runs into wall directly across from me--possibly trying to entertain me?

I mentioned in an earlier chapter that children may have acted up in front of the camera to entertain me. Here is potential evidence of the desire to entertain without the camera; children probably could not envision an adult being interested in normal, more mundane events in the hallway, so they create something to watch. LeCompte (1980) also describes children entertaining researchers with

teasing or fantasy responses to questions.

She continues to wander slowly and enters the sixth-grade classroom at the end of the hall.

2:12 "You doin' this for a class?" I am asked. "Yeah, I guess you could say that."

2:13 Hall empty. [Teacher] of Chapter One watches as a Chapter One child gets water in cup. Child yells and teacher corrects, "You know better than that."

2:15 Hallway empty again. Small boy turns in hall and accidentally bumps into bigger boy. Older puts arms on shoulders and redirects the smaller--no anger, almost parental.

2:19 Dead time.

2:21 Still pretty dead. Chapter One children empty trash into hallway bin while teacher watches and reminds them to walk. [*Socializing for working class jobs? Or perhaps socializing contributing to group welfare, or personal cleanliness?*]

2:23 Girl with satchel and coat gets drink--apparently leaving school early.

2:24 Another girl went to restroom and got drink. Still relatively dead in hallway.

School Day Ends

2:25 Bell rings.

2:26 A few kids walking in the hallway. One hits drinking fountains and other objects as moving down hallway. Several more kids enter hall, but still quite empty.

2:27 Girl says "Hi, Mr. Reporter man" (she said this in the morning as well). [*I'm placed in the role of reporter again.*] AA boy runs through hall to classroom. I have seen him in hall by himself several times today. Child asks, "Are you that visitor?" I respond, "I'm just seeing what kids do in halls. I didn't know so now I'm finding out."

2:29 The hall is relatively empty.

2:31 Two girls are talking as they walk in phalanx. One has candy bar, the other a can of pop.

I asked my undergraduate assistant to jot down any interesting things she observed while videotaping. One of the few things she noted was the large number of children that were overweight. Many times I noted a cart, piled high with sweets and other junk food, being rolled down the hallway, stopping at each classroom to permit purchases by children and teachers. I assume the selling of these things was a fund-raising effort by the school, but it was a regular event in the hallway. Perhaps this is an example of how schools and other organizations can become more concerned about raising funds than the potential ill effects on children. An alternative would be to sell healthy snacks, such as nuts and fruits. Some schools forbid children bringing junk food from home, much less sell it to youngsters. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of overweight children in recent years, probably because children have more sedentary habits and fail to exercise sufficiently (Dietz, 1986). The junk food readily available, as well as lack of recess for older elementary children may have exacerbated the problem.

They stop and talk with a girl leaning on the wall. They talk about one minute, move slightly to middle of hall, then all three talk another ten to fifteen seconds; then two leave and girl in dress stays in hall looking at drawing. Two adults look like parents and grandparent, latter picks up girl. Girl in dress paces back and forth looking at drawings and rubbing arm against wall.

2:33 Boy looking at drawings, lifts one up. Another girl watches him, then they talk briefly (about five seconds). Girl in dress talks to adult woman holding cardboard. White boy runs, nearby AA girl starts to run, then walks again. Several boys run hands against wall as walk and along metal strip. Girl in dress goes by with older girl. Boys return with AA girl to different classrooms (they had gone to drinking fountain or restroom). A boy runs down the hall and jumps over my leg. Girl in dress returns and asks what I'm doing. I say I'm learning about kids. Two girls and one boy in phalanx. Two girl phalanx. Three girl phalanx.

Phalanxes proliferate at the end of the day, as found in these field notes. Clearly this marks the transition from school to bus; thus it is logical that more peer culture social forms would exist, rather than the line that is more school culture.

2:38 Kids beginning to enter hall in greater numbers. Two girl phalanx. Two boy phalanx. Girl and boy play fight. Boy pushes girl. She has look of anger and he smiles, both continue down hall at distance from each other. Boy pushes another and asks, "Did you

write that down?"

2:41 Boy runs down hall against most of the traffic. Two girl and one boy phalanx. Two girl phalanx. "I'll bet your hand is tired," a child says. "It sure is," I respond. Two boy phalanx. Boy rubs shoulders going opposite way of another child. No reaction.

2:42 Two girl phalanx. Two boy phalanx. Three boy phalanx. Two boy phalanx. Two girl phalanx. Two girl phalanx.

2:45 Two boys running, moving in and out of phalanx formation. Two girl phalanx, left this form when adult talked to them even though adult was not correcting them. Four girl phalanx, two boy phalanx, two girl phalanx.

2:46 "You been here all day?" I am asked. I say "Yep." "When you goin' home?" "In about an hour," I say. "Wow" is the response. Three girl phalanx, two girl phalanx talking as going down hall. Seven girl cluster talking, six stay clustered as walk down hall, go to three then two child phalanx.

2:49 These girls changed to cluster of five; they stopped and began talking (continued?). Then they broke into a phalanx of three. Another phalanx of three girls. "You been here seven hours?" I'm asked. I say, "Yeah, but I took a couple of breaks." One male/one female in phalanx. Two girl phalanx. Two boy phalanx.

2:52 Two girl line at drinking fountain. Two girl phalanx. Boy and girl playing verbally but not in phalanx. Two girl phalanx. Six girl phalanx, which moved in and out three to five in phalanx, but sort of clustered when in phalanx.

The proliferation of phalanxes at the end of the day was interesting. Two reasons might be suggested. First, the end of the school day signaled the likelihood that peer culture was more tolerated as school culture was less legitimate. Second, most of the traffic went a single direction, toward the bus loading area, so phalanxes were less likely to meet obstacles--people going the other direction.

2:54 "I hope you get an A on your project," a child tells me. I thank him. Parent asks me, "You monitoring the halls?" I say "Yeah, I guess, watching at least." Parent chuckles.

2:55 Fairly empty hallway. Boy slaps post and rubs wall as goes down hallway. Four girl phalanx breaks up to two groups of two girls each to get by me.

The breaking up of phalanxes to get by me, as well as the earlier halting of a line because I was in the way, are researcher effects. The former was noted in my methodological notes at the time.

Two boy phalanx. Two boy phalanx. Three girl cluster. Two girl phalanx changes into four girl phalanx. Another child asks, "Why you sit in halls?" Three girl phalanx. One boy and girl phalanx.

2:58 Several girls sit on floor, three on each side. Boys also sit, about twenty feet away. Boy and girl running side by side. Teacher says stop running, and they break into phalanx and go to line form. Boys punching and laughing--play fight. More and more kids sitting next to walls. I asked one why they sit in the hall. Child said they are waiting for bus; adult calls bus number and they go. Adult tells them to sit next to the wall. Tells them to whisper, not talk, so they can hear the bus called.

This sitting in the hallway while waiting for the buses was unusual in the main hallway studied. Although this regularly occurred in the early elementary hallway, the normal procedure in the older elementary hallway was for teachers on bus duty to keep children in their rooms while waiting to hear their bus called on the intercom. I was told that when the music teacher had bus duty, she kept the children in the hallway because the outside building she was in could not hold all the children. I was impressed with how much control was used to keep the children quiet and immobile during this time, whether the children were in the hallway or classroom waiting. The school day ended a half hour before this time, yet teachers allowed little if any socializing. In my personal notes I said that the hushing seemed unnecessary and the quieting of children did not necessarily occur when they were talking the loudest. I suspect that the comment about not hearing the bus called was as much for me as the children, and later another teacher told me the teacher on bus duty had to take children personally to their homes if they missed the bus. I still wondered if all the control was necessary at this late time of day. At the time I wondered why the kids did not stay in the cafeteria to wait where they could socialize more freely, and buses be announced perhaps with a bullhorn. My personal notes record the bus waiting time with all the critical comments from the monitor as being

personally painful because of the prohibition of social interaction. I wondered if there was an underlying message, something like "This is to let you know that you must always obey adults in school, even after school is officially over." The level of control seemed to exceed even the high levels observed earlier in the day.

3:02 "I don't want to get you in trouble, so I don't write your names," the hallway monitor says.

Child asks me, "Did you come here on your own?" I say, "Yep, trying to learn what kids are like." Quite a bit of talking. Talking and laughing. Several ask me, "You been here all day?" and I say, "Yes, since before school started."

3:06 Teacher says no talking because they didn't whisper when she told them they could do that; they talked instead. Says they must keep their feet in (i.e., not let them go out into middle of hallway). Teacher talks to several kids. Others begin talking and she says, "I hear talking." This comment does not stop the talking until she walks down the hall to the area where kids are talking.

Teacher presence works better than verbal comments, probably because children realize the teacher is more likely to take punitive action when physically present.

Child asks me if I wrote books. I said yes. "You gonna write about us?" I said maybe.

This response was an attempt to avoid introducing the writer role too quickly. In my prospectus I said that the writer role was a backup for the friend role, so I was attempting to defer the writer role until later. As time went on I became much more willing to admit to a writer role, and in the group interviews introduced myself with that role.

3:10 Four boy phalanx breaks into two groups of two to get by sitting children.

3:12 Bus called and kids leave. Girl scolded by monitor for crossing hallway to talk to me. [*I resented this a bit, but did not know what I should do, if anything.*]

3:14 Three girl phalanx. Girl complemented my shirt. Monitor calls out for a bus, but does not appear cued to do so (is this sitting and control just an exercise of school control rather than a functional means of holding the kids for buses when they arrive?). Teacher now says they can whisper because not as many kids are in the hall.

3:17 Child asks me to read this page to her. I read a few words, and teacher says she hears voices above a whisper (talking to me?). Interesting--with fewer kids they can talk more quietly because they can be heard more easily, yet teacher gave less restrictive talking rule (actually the verbal rule is more lenient but enforcement is more restrictive).

3:20 Three kids walking fast are told to go back and walk again. Teacher tells them that if they run, they will have to go back a third time.

3:22 Last bus group leaves. Teachers leave.

3:24 Hall empty.

At about 3:30 I went to the cafeteria for a faculty meeting with the teachers at Pellegrini elementary. There I was formally introduced by the counselor of the school, because the principal was away. I told the teachers I had been given permission to observe in the hallways, would use a videocamera, and would try to stay out of their way as much as possible. I emphasized that I was not attempting to confirm preconceived ideas but to find out what happens in the hallways. I asked that if there were any problems, to let me know. The presentation took five minutes or less.

My methodology notes reflect that I wrote more notes in the morning than afternoon. Two explanations account for this. Fatigue was one factor; not only was I generally tired after hours of observing, but also my writing hand was hurting by the end of the day. The four-hour time period, used after this initial day, was a more reasonable length of time to observe. A second factor accounting for fewer notes in the afternoon was that the things I found most interesting and salient were beginning to give me focus and direction in my observing; I realized I could not get everything, so decisions were being made sometimes semi-consciously about what would be recorded and what would be ignored. In the methodology notes I noted the concern that I might be missing some important things because of this increased selectivity, which was one reason for beginning videotaping sooner than planned. I also told myself that the fatigue would be less when I went on the four-hour schedule after the first day.

In my theoretical notes I said that the selected site had, indeed, turned out to be an extreme case as had been desired. I mentioned how extreme cases can be valuable at showing the rich detail and variety of behavior possible. I was very pleased to see how diverse, even to the point of being

overwhelming, the behavior was at my selected site.

In most respects this day was not unusual, except for the number of reactive effects. However, most of them were temporary changes in behavior as children walked past me. I think I identified many of them. Otherwise the events were typical of what I would observe in the following weeks. What changed more than anything else was my observation methods; the breadth of observation was narrowed somewhat to focus on the three social formations--line, phalanx, and cluster--although on subsequent days I continued to look for other indications of school and peer culture in the hallway.